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## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF MURDER - STUDY OF A CASE

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### I. THE CRIME

One fine spring morning in the early thirties, the residents of a mid-Western town awoke to find through its morning newspaper that a tragedy of unusual violence had transpired during the preceding hours. Unusual in the sense that the motive for the murder had been done with ferocity, spaced with intervals of time that suggested cool deliberation and a certain amount of planning. The apartment of Mrs. A. had been entered by a party or parties unknown and the woman was murdered at approximately eleven o'clock in the evening by means of strangulation. An interval of some five hours seemed to have intervened before the second person, the daughter of Mrs. A., was murdered upon her return to the apartment. Apparently the murderer had waited during all this time for his victim. The evidence seemed to indicate that the murderer was known to the victims inasmuch as he had free access to the apartment and there were no signs of struggle. The atrocity of the attacks and the absence of motive suggested to the authorities that the murderer might be mentally unbalanced. The usual methods

\* Editor's Note--This case was studied successively by Dr. Leland E. Hinsie and Dr. Bernard Glueck prior to the case coming to trial. An unusual number of psychoanalytic hours were given to the examination. Material will be presented in this issue and two subsequent issues of the JOURNAL which will throw light on many obscure phases of this case. Since the examinations were made separately by Dr. Glueck and Dr. Hinsie, it has seemed advisable to present the first article in the series by Dr. Hinsie, the second article by Dr. Glueck and to devote the third to a summary and interpretation in which the two authors will collaborate. The earlier material, of course, will present the factual and clinical data attendant upon the tragedy and this will be followed by a discussion of the legal and psychiatric implications based upon the clinical findings.

of check-up of parties who frequented the apartment and the elimination of suspected cases through establishment of alibis eventually led the authorities to the consideration of a recent parolee from a mental hospital. After a considerable lapse of time and with some effort the patient was finally located and apprehended. The writer of this paper was called in to make an examination, the results of which follow.

The parolee, who gave his name as Johan, talked freely and even boastfully of his exploits and in fact his production was so uninhibited that careful consideration had to be given as to the truthfulness of many of his statements. It early became evident to the examiner that Johan was of the type of individual who would not stop at either word or action in bringing attention upon himself and his exploits. He was an exhibitionist par excellence. The material obtained from Johan under these circumstances has been carefully weighed by the examiner and as here presented seems to fit the offense as well as the personality make-up of the individual. Johan apparently had in mind the idea of staging a murder for many years. This concept arose out of an uncontrollable need for the assertion of his ego and the achievement, if possible, of immortality. Through the years, ideas on visualization, immortality, the Christ stage, and other allied topics gradually became crystallized. He progressively became more enthusiastic as he felt that he was nearing the full development of his state of universal being and control. As his inner life of fantasy became increasingly important and interesting, his workaday world tended to become drab and monotonous. The realities of life were steadily abandoned by him and the various jobs he undertook were made entirely secondary to his fanatic interest in becoming the greatest power in the world. He worked for a short time as a taxidermist, then as a tailor, an elevator operator and whatever other jobs he could secure. His interest, of course, was not in this work and he tolerated such an existence only because it was a means to an end. It is noteworthy that approximately during this period he took up sculpturing. Through modeling he felt that he could express his creative needs and that he could mould his destiny, so to speak, to greater advantages than in any other physical form that presented itself to him. Johan was not interested in sculpturing as an art but it was valuable to him materially because he was sure that he could become the most famous and unique sculptor in history. He would be able to create live objects. His works would be of such a quality that no one could distinguish the animate from the inanimate. Although his talent for sculpturing was

more than ordinary and he used it to impress others with his ability, Johan progressively lost interest in that art except as a means of livelihood. Sculpturing also permitted him a certain satisfaction in exhibitionism and was used to impress the superintendent of the reform school and the professional staffs of other Institutions in which he had resided.

In the Spring of 1926 he obtained a position as an apprentice in ornamental modeling but lost this position on account of fighting with an employee. The same situation was repeated in connection with another position in an art studio the preceding winter. His art interest continued, however, and he worked at irregular periods at various studios until the Spring of 1926. This art interest, it will be noted, which was devoted exclusively to the modeling of plastics, had a competing interest in a machine which he had invented for the purpose of achieving immortality. The delusional material attendant upon the perfection of this machine will be brought out in later paragraphs. At any rate in his travels about the country he underwent a good deal of hardship, sleeping in parks and working at such jobs as he could obtain until he reached a mid-Western city in the late summer of 1930. It was while working as an assistant sculptor at a studio in that city he began to develop feelings of discouragement, wandered about the town without notice of where he was going, gave little attention to proper eating habits and in general became mentally upset. He was saving every cent he could make to devote to the perfection of his machine. His condition became so bad that he felt it necessary to go to a hospital. Johan stated that he knew he would be accepted in the psychopathic ward and that they would regard him as being "crazy" but that he was willing to tolerate that opinion of him if opportunities were given for the further development of his plans. This easy relationship towards mental hospitals, which always tended to paternalize him, undoubtedly had the effect of deferring the final culmination of his plans in the form of murder. He knew that he was classified as schizophrenic and smilingly accepted the opinion as long as the personnel did not prevent him from gaining what he thought was to be his supreme position in the world. In fact, he obtained considerable quiet satisfaction in the thought that the day would come when he could assert his omnipotence and immortality and would show the hospital personnel the type of man he really was. The Staff at the hospital were much impressed with the various talents exhibited by Johan and they made it possible for him to carry on a number of

interesting tasks as well as giving him special encouragement in the matter of continuing his sculpturing. Several of his productions were of such merit as to warrant exhibition. During the several paroles from the Hospital he worked at varied jobs, usually requiring artistic talent, such as, the making of artificial flowers and commercial display work but his thoughts were constantly upon visualization and the perfection of his machine. He would seek voluntary admission to the hospital believing that in a public mental institution he would be able to get men to visualize with him without any difficulty and in this way he need not spend any money in order to foster his plans. He was anxious to achieve the phase of "universal mind" as quickly as possible. About this time he began thinking of a girl whom he had known for several years, one L. T. Through her he hoped that he might quickly acquire the state of universality by means of building up "inner pressure" as he termed it. The afternoon of the day on which the tragedy occurred was spent with a young lady and her brother in sight-seeing and in the seeking of a position. When he left her company near the close of the afternoon he felt himself to be under great tension. For a time he wandered about the streets thinking of his mission of life and of the final culmination of it through L. Some mental confusion seemed to have developed at the time since he felt that his mind was in a fog and one thought seemed to stand out among all others, namely, that he had to die. He went over to the river in the neighborhood of L.'s house, thinking of committing suicide. An opposing thought arose that he must carry through the visualization with L. The process of visualization as he reasoned it was to the effect that "before anything can take material form it must first have a mental prototype" and therefore, he had found as if by magic what he called the key "to all the problems of life." This so-called visualization is obviously nothing more than a psychic method for creating everything in the universe. Johan believed that nothing existed except that which he created. With reference to the image of L. entering his thoughts at that time Johan states, "I thought I had to have her in visualizing and everything else. I was hoping to marry her. She seemed like a chemical affinity to me. To be near her just made me feel at peace with the world. I needed her to help me visualize. I needed to break the veil to finish what I had started out to do when I was seventeen years old, to learn the secret of life." By the expression, *breaking the veil*, he meant "to unite what we consider the concrete with the



next world." These conflicting ideas prevented him from making an attempted suicide. It would appear that he spent most of the early evening sitting on the bank, his mind surcharged with ideas which were quite confused. He was in a state of indecision as to what action to take. At one time he was about to jump into the water when "the water turned light and was swirling all around just like liquid light. . . . liquid transmuted into gases, vapor light. . . . it was just as beautiful as can be." The water of the river rose up towards him and moulded itself into the form of L. "Her hair was gold. I saw it just as clear as I see flesh and blood. It was like vapor. I said to myself, now I have to go and kill L." He believed that L. was divided into two parts, a beautiful golden one and a black earthly one. These two parts, he believed, were chained together. "It seemed like the culmination of all my business, my life work because if I could separate the black earthly L. from the golden L., I would somehow break through the veil and make it so that we can attain the spirit, that I can finish my visualizing." He thought that if he murdered L., the entire world would be utterly changed, as well as himself. "When you are free from all bonds and matter and you are loose, you are free within the realm of possibility."

A distinct religious trend based upon the craving for immortality and the intent of the ego to grasp and incorporate itself into universality arose at this time. The roots of these delusions, of course, extended back through the years and many manifestations were evidenced previously but it was not until the evening of the tragedy that the trend crystallized into action. As he sat on the bank looking into the swirling waters of the river, his mind overwhelmed with conflicting doubts of opinions as to his course of action, he conceived himself to be Jesus Christ and that he had achieved thereby the supreme test of immortality. He could not quite accomplish the role of Christ, however, without making a sacrifice, for a sacrificial rite was necessary to bring the wisdom of heaven upon earth. He considered it would be necessary for him to kill L. in order that he should become Christ in an entirety. While Christ went down into the grave and rose from the tomb in immortality, it was a privilege denied Johan for he felt that if he went to the grave, which in this case meant suicide by drowning, all would be lost and all the principles for which he had worked for so many years would vanish since there was no one to carry on. At this point the impelling motivation for the murders became crystallized and thoughts of suicide receded. He had the distinct feeling that electricity and

sparks were vibrating about his head and that lights were flashing all around. To him these were manifestations that the day that he had so long contemplated had finally arrived. Tomorrow would be his resurrection and immortality would be achieved. Christ was resurrected on Easter morn and tomorrow would be Easter! This could not be accomplished, however, until he had developed a certain "internal pressure" which could be brought about only through murdering. The "internal pressure" would then be so great that he would be liberated from all the bonds of mortality and would arrive at the stage of Redeemer. The selection of the victims for his sacrificial act was somewhat coincidental. "I merely pushed them into the realm of possibility from which, having attained that state, I can always bring them out and I will never have attained myself the fullness of spirit completely until I do bring them out."

The time for action had come and the great need for translating the delusional state into effective action became Johan's sole compulsion. He left the river and walked in the direction of the A. home, arriving there about nine o'clock. While his head seemed to be in a whirl, as he expressed it, his decision had been made and he did not swerve in the slightest from it. L. was not at home but he met her mother and had a long talk with her emphasizing among other things the need for the spiritual life and the absolute necessity of his meeting L. As he conversed he became more intense. The electrical sparks and flashes reappeared and the supreme time of his life seemed to have arrived. In a fit of frenzy he strangled Mrs. A., apparently without much resistance due to the surprise element in the attack. Johan felt that he had increased his "internal pressure" by this act but that he had not yet achieved the culmination of his career which called for the murder of L. He waited in the apartment until far beyond midnight. In the early morning hours while it was dark he heard someone come in and enter the washroom and finally pass the door of the room in which Johan was hiding. His mind was in a turmoil and the sparks and flashes still continued to vibrate in front of his eyes. He attacked the newcomer believing her to be L. and by means of a bludgeon composed of a towel and soap contrived to knock her unconscious. He then found that it was not L. but her sister, B., whom he had attacked. Since his real objective had been to kill L., he half desisted in his assault but then the thought arose that the more people he killed the more "internal pressure" he would develop whereupon he completed his strangulation

of her. His feeling at that time, as he expressed it, was "an interior influence that compelled me to go through with it but yet it was external in the sense that it came to me like from the universal mind. . . . when I was killing B. there was sunlight or a beautiful light coming down from above. . . . the light was a living thing like it was a divinity." The light seemed to him to be a divine message that he was getting "nearer to the great white throne, nearer the crystal sun." His head seemed to be surrounded by vibrating electricity and B. appeared in a bed of blood "as the most beautiful thing I have ever seen, like a sacrificial something or other, that bed of blood - can you imagine a great big tremendous liquid ruby which although liquid doesn't flow away." (No blood, of course, was actually present since there were no lacerations). During the act of strangling B. he saw what to him were great evil eyes which grew larger and larger and seemed to bring to him a special significance. He finally found out that the illusion of the eyes was the dial of a luminous clock.

Johan stated later that he would have killed forty people had they been in the apartment because each would have contributed to the increase of the "internal pressure" which he had felt necessary to attain immortality. To him murder or death was not death but was simply a borrowing of life; "I simply put them in another room and I can resurrect them later."

Johan did not fear apprehension as a loss of liberty or of the possibility of his being murdered but he felt that if he were apprehended at this time by the police he would be prevented from carrying out his original objective of the murder of L. In the final activity of quitting the apartment the thought intruded itself upon Johan that he probably would not after all be able to contact L. to accomplish his purpose in view of what had already transpired. The necessity for escape became apparent but superseding that was the feeling that he had at last attained the internal pressure that would give him an all powerfulness for controlling the entire universe. The subsequent course of the case prior to his apprehension has already been commented on in earlier paragraphs..

## II. ROOTS OF THE CRIME

Johan undoubtedly had been suffering from a progressive mental disorder since the age of seventeen years. In all probability peculiar-

ities existed prior to that time but the formulation of a concept, the attainment of the secrets of life, to which he adhered without deviation of purpose for so many years started at the age of seventeen. The necessity for making a living was pushed into the background increasingly as his plans for becoming the master mind of the universe were maturing. In this mission in life he felt that he was guided by divine power. At this particular age he began to encounter certain mental phenomena which strengthened his belief in his divine power. While working in a department store handling dress material designed in polka dots, the material seemed to leave his hands and without any human effort to move straight up to his face. It was then that the idea of visualization first occurred. He discoursed at length with his mother on the great powers that would come to him through visualization and that he would at last be able to bring them out of their poverty stricken condition. He enlisted the help of others. He believed that if some person would sit in another room tapping a signal at regular intervals, he would be able to produce mental images which would then be transferred into real and living subjects. This form of behavior, of course, led people to consider him as being queer. For that reason he decided to buy a machine on which he could work out his plans without the need of human assistance. He even went without food and necessary clothing in order to purchase the material for the machine. The machine itself was made up of a phonographic motor which had an attachment to it permitting ticks to be given out at regular intervals. He hired a young boy to sit in one room with the ticker while he would be in an adjoining room so that the machine and its operator would be out of the line of vision. As the ticking continued Johan concentrated on one mental picture after another and he developed in his own opinion the capacity to visualize everything in the universe. The mental images, thus called, he felt to be absolutely real. In order to develop to its highest power what he termed "visualization," he began collecting pictures and until the time that he was arrested for murder he had at least fifty thousand pictures catalogued and indexed. Since his arrest as a murderer he has accumulated four boxes full of pictures. He said that he would look at a picture and the image through visualization became alive.

When the father of the boy whom Johan had employed as his assistant found out what was going on, the boy's services were summarily terminated. This forced Johan to resort to pictures and as a result

he was arrested for stealing books from the library in order to get pictures to assist him to develop his powers of visualization.

The incident of the polka dots mentioned earlier in this paper was probably a sense of illusion, - a depersonalization phenomenon - rather than an actual hallucination. The first evidence of hallucination in the developmental history of this case appears to be in connection with his stay in the reform school (when he was eighteen years old). One evening while in his room he turned out the lights so as to secure complete darkness, concentrated on his "visualization" and materialized to his satisfaction what he considered to be a real angel. He never believed this apparition to be anything other than an actual creation and he denied that it was a product of his imagination. In the midst of his ritual an attendant suddenly turned on the lights which caused Johan considerable embarrassment, - a state of mind in which he seldom found himself. Usually he had remarkable sang-froid, for he realized that his claims for remarkable powers and especially his creation of the angel would lead to ridicule on the part of others. The angel did not speak to him nor did he attempt a conversation on his own part but there existed between them "that inarticulate urge that draws us on to divinity, to the universal mind, to the universal life." Johan's experience with the angel was not a mere passing event for he considered it a milestone in his life. He counted the development of his great powers as being greatly accelerated at that point in his career. The angel continued to haunt him all his life. There is no direct evidence that the apparition of the angel was hallucinated in later years but the patient's emphasis upon his belief in his having achieved immortality and that it came to him through the appearance of the angel leads one to suspect that this was a fairly common hallucination with him. The remarkable rapidity with which delusional formation occurred after the onset of obvious mental illness is attested by his having organized a fairly complex delusion between the ages of eighteen and nineteen concerning his power of omnipotence. All of this seems to have taken place within a two year period. He regarded himself as a molecule in a hermetically sealed box of such gigantic strength as to defy breakage at any point. If he could only generate enough internal pressure, he could finally burst through the enormous strength of the box, obliterating himself and also the molecules contained therein. He meant by this, of course obliteration of the whole universe. In this connection it must be recall-



ed that the development of "internal pressure" became an obsession with him throughout the remainder of his career and that it was this particular feeling tone that gave to the patient's mind the motivation for the murders. The box had the following specifications, 2x3x4 feet in dimensions, placed over a fire called by Johan "the fire of necessity." Within the box was water which became heated by the fire and transformed into steam. The object of life was to create enough "internal pressure" so that the steam would burst the box which represented the mortal barriers of existence. The box represented to Johan three stages of life: (1) the phenomenal stage in which we live as mortals. This is the water stage in the box. (2) The numeral or steam stage. (3) The spiritual stage. Life as it is at present is an ominous repetition of the phenomenal and numeral stages. The fire of necessity heats the water, the water is transformed into steam, and the steam goes back into the water stage. The real purpose of life is that each molecule will burst through the barriers of this otherwise impassable box. "The real law of life is to get out. If you don't you return to dead matter. I'll never return to dead matter. I'll never die. I'll be immortal and universal."

The delusion of immortality was closely associated with that of *omnipotence*. The feeling of potency gradually developed but did not attain its full power until the time of the murders. At the age of seventeen, however, he felt that he was destined to know everything. All he had to do was to think of something whereupon he would be endowed with full and complete knowledge of the subject of which he thought. For example, if he walked by a news stand he would be able to repeat with absolute exactitude everything contained in the reading material displayed thereon. The great power of learning was eventually establishing itself and was being completed through the intervening years. At the same time he knew that he was destined to have the ability to flow from one form into another "just with the spirit of wishing. You can flow from one sex to another. You can flow into a storm, a dragon, a jackrabbit, into anything in the universe; that flowing is connected with what I call the translucency of form. I am learning to transmute myself into a pure spiritual note."

Intimately associated with omnipotence is what Johan calls the *universal mind*. The concept of the universal mind arose along with that of immortality and the feeling of omnipotence about the age of seventeen. Like the feeling of omnipotence, it grew with the years. The concept



of the universal mind was as real to him then as it is now. He had given the subject much thought and had written extensively on it but not for publication, of course. While residing in one hospital he held to the belief that material things did not exist; that everything was the product of the mind and that the universal mind was the only mind in existence. He claimed that individuals possessed no minds of their own but that they had only little helpless embryonic mechanisms like a radio. The universal mind was conceived by him as not being a product of the unconscious but rather of the super-conscious, as he termed it. "We are like spherical sieves thrown into the ocean of the universal mind and the living waters of the ocean flow into and through us but the water doesn't belong to us. It belongs to the ocean." These opinions held by Johan at the age of 25, represent an eight year development of his delusional trends. In 1932 he had modified his earlier beliefs to the extent that the universal mind provided a means for escape from the world as ordinary mortals understood it. He believed that by bottling up energy there would come a time when he would be able to recall without a moment's notice everything that had ever happened in the entire life time of the universe. The powers of visualization had as an end object the attainment of the universal mind. In this manner his mission in life became that of condensing multiplicity into oneness or unity. He had become a part of everybody and everything. Some six years later, which coincides with the date of the murders, he felt that he had attained this end result for he said, "There is only one thing. I am everybody. Everybody is inherently a part of me and vice versa."

The feeling omnipotence was to be further strengthened by the super-development of the five senses through systematic training. Several years before the murders he began to experiment in order to develop these senses to a supreme degree. The murders released inhibitions and, therefore, have enabled him to express himself more concretely since then than was possible in his earlier life. He felt that through intensive training he would be able to develop the sense of smell to the extent that he could detect odors on the planet Mars. Regarding his eyesight he said that through training he was able to see a distance of millions of miles. Accompanying the concept of super-attainment of physical powers was the marked sense of depersonalization. "You are not your body. If you cut off your arm or leg, you are still entirely there. You cut off a man's thumb and he can reconstruct his body from the thumb."

### III. DEVELOPMENTAL BACKGROUND OF THE PATIENT

Although the discussion of this case has touched upon several points in the early history of the patient, a more complete discussion of his background is desirable at this point in order that a better understanding may be had of the mental state following the murders. Johan claims that he was born in the mid-west. The lack of adequate sources of information concerning his early life makes it necessary to accept a number of his statements without corroboration. His mother apparently died at the age of sixty-three, cause unknown.

Johan stated that his father died in 1920 but that he had not seen him since 1913. As far as he knew his father's health had been good and that he had died at about the age of seventy years. His father had been a lawyer but later had turned his interests to evangelism.

The patient claims he started to school at the age of six, attending public school in a suburb just outside a large city. He graduated from school at the age of fourteen. On one occasion he skipped a class and on another repeated a grade. Considerable self-pity is expressed by the patient concerning these early years. Undoubtedly the family was in a poverty stricken condition and the sensitive boy felt keenly distinctions between himself and other pupils. "I was very unhappy then. All the other students in school had a noon-hour meal. I never had any because my parents were too poor. Other kids had shoes while I was barefooted. Others had nice clothes and I didn't. It was in that class (5th grade) that I lost interest and because I was so poor I played hookey a lot. I was the bad boy in the neighborhood, smashed windows, stole fruit from orchards. I was unable to go to high school because I was too poor." Undoubtedly strong compensatory strivings were inaugurated at this time and possibly the beginning of the desires for achievement and superiority which marked to a prominent degree his attitude in later life could be traced back to these early frustrations.

His first job was that of an errand boy in a large department store in a western state. The marked instability towards the job and the employer, as well as the inability to hold a position for any length of time was evidenced by Johan in his very first job. He quit after remaining at the department store for only two months because he became incensed over a purchase which he believed the store was trying to force upon him. The next venture was more successful for he was able to work two and one-half years as an errand boy in the silk and dress

goods trade. This job represents the longest period of employment he ever had in any one occupation. He liked the work but finally quit as the result of a fight with one of the employees. For some time he had been dissatisfied with his lot as an errand boy and had been looking for an opportunity to learn a trade. Voluntary application to enter the a training school for boys resulted in his residence there for a period of fifteen months. As we have previously noted, it was during this period that his tapping machine was developed. After leaving the school he secured a position in a cast stove factory for the winter of 1923-24 and then entered his first work which would give him an opportunity of developing a hitherto latent artistic talent. He worked as an apprentice for a firm specializing in ornamental modeling. His employment was terminated by a fight with another employee. Thereafter, however, his jobs with firms dealing in art work became more numerous and in fact his artistic talent became the chief means of livelihood for some time. The art interest seems to have been a real influence in his life and it is quite probable that had delusional trends not been so well established at this period his personality could have been saved through the expression of art interests. A closer analysis of the succession of jobs from this period on reveals, however, that there was a declining interest in art with an ever increasing absorption in the perfection of his machine and the development of delusional trends. In a manner which is characteristic of schizophrenics the world of fantasy became much more interesting than that of reality with the result that Johan could no longer hold down a job but had to resort to hospitalization in order to insure himself of freedom from worry and the opportunity for the development of his precious projects. In the latter part of 1925 he secured a position with an art studio but was again discharged for fighting with an employee. Other work included employment in a wax modeling studio, an art decorating company and a period during the spring of 1927, in the studio of a very well-known artist. It is interesting to note that once again Johan had an opportunity of making a successful adjustment to reality but was unable to do so because of the depth of his psychosis even at that comparative early period. "I had plans of making a million dollars by making little busts of celebrities. I worked in the home of my employer's stepmother. A next door neighbor was interested in my proposition and invested a certain amount of money in it. I worked hard trying to make these little busts but I never could make one to suit myself. It was never

just right and the whole thing fell through." The next job ended in the same manner as so many of his previous attempts, namely, fighting with employees. After leaving the South he came to the mid-west spending some of his time sleeping on park benches, living in a home for refugees, and existing as well as he might on whatever came to hand. In July 1928, he obtained another studio position and seems to have made another determined attempt to accomplish something real out of his life. "While I was there I worked very hard. Once I worked three days and three nights continuously without stopping but I got discouraged and walked out without notice." The position lasted about eight months. The wandering around and the endeavor to obtain jobs began all over again. Undoubtedly Johan was quite miserable and unhappy during that period. "All the time I was sick. I didn't eat properly because I wanted to save every penny for my ticking machine. I remember I nearly died." In January 1929, he was admitted to the psychopathic ward of a mental hospital upon his own request.

#### IV. DELUSIONAL CONTENT

In the act leading up to the actual commission of the crime some discussion has been made as to certain delusions that formed the motivation of the crime itself. Out of the emotionally unstable and highly introspective childhood of the patient we have found that certain ideas formulated in the earlier years became crystallized into delusional trends at the age of seventeen. The particular trends discussed have dealt with the omnipotence and immortality of the patient. Certain ideas of depersonalization and hallucinatory experiences found their culmination in electrical phenomena at the time of the murders. Electricity has always played a large part in the life of Johan. He started in with his electrically contrived tapping machine and gradually came to feel that electrical influences were exerting a magic control over all his body functions. He had the unqualified belief that he could change his body into gold. The electricity he thought was generated by himself and within his own body and did not come from external sources. He had reached the point where he concluded he would soon be able to convert all mortal matter into liquid gold. He believed that he had already established the fact there was no need for food after he had developed his electrical powers to the highest extent. He made a regular practice of fasting. At times he thought he could stop the action of his heart

beat and could prevent his lungs from expanding and contracting. All this was done by electricity. Through electricity he controlled the passage of food through his body. "There is no limit to the extent that I can build myself mentally and physically through electricity." On one occasion he thought he was able to convert his tissues into gold to such an extent that it frightened him. When he became God to the full extent of the meaning of that word through electricity, he would convert his body into light. The growth of his beard and the hair on his head gave him ample proof of such ability. He attempted to show the examiner his capacity for turning his hair into gold and was greatly agitated when he was informed the experiment was a failure. For a considerable time prior to the examination. Johan had been wearing pads of steel wool as a means through which he hoped to build up electrical influences within himself. All of these electrical influences served to give him what he called "internal pressure." By such means he would be able to cure all the ailments of mankind. In this respect he adopted the role of God and of Christ. Flesh is regarded by him as immortal. The frequency with which delusions such as has been outlined above appear in schizophrenia, particularly the hebephrenic form, is well known to students of mental disorder.

As a result of the electrical control of his body functions and of the ailments of mankind, he felt that he would never die. He will follow the footsteps of Christ and that will lead to rebirth. Through visualization and electrical influences he would be enabled finally to change his sex at will. This delusion is frequent among hebephrenic patients and is to be considered as part of the psychology of castration. As a matter of fact, several years before Johan had committed the murders he had made a distinct though ineffectual attempt to castrate himself. Later while in the mental hospital he had demanded that the physicians castrate him. He believed that his all-powerfulness would extend to the zone of sexuality so that he could maintain sexual intercourse indefinitely without the need for rest. The magical powers extended to his sculptural ability so that he would be able finally to become the greatest sculptor in the world, to make any kind of invention, to walk on water, to learn any language without studying it simply "by breaking through the vanishing point. All I have to do is wish and I get everything. I am a part of the Divinity. I am divine to the extent that I have escaped from its mortal coil. I have powers over and above all other people in the world. I think I can say without bragging that at pre-



sent I am further advanced in all my thoughts than any man who has ever lived. I, therefore, have God-like qualities absolutely. The electricity will enable me to cure all of my troubles and to cure other people just like Jesus Christ cured them." He claimed that within a period of three years he would become even greater than Christ "in that I'll attain to the translucency of form so that I'll just evaporate right out of the place. Matter will go through you and you will go through matter." Johan was certain that he was following in the footsteps of other great world leaders and called attention to the fact that Buddha "started out" at the age of twenty-nine, Jesus at the age of thirty. "When I committed those murders I was twenty-six and now that I am here I am twenty-seven."

The whole symptomatology of Johan conforms to a personality pattern frequently encountered among schizophrenic patients. For a long period of time he was a shut-in individual given over largely to self-existence. During adolescence he developed a system of delusions pertaining to his mission on earth and gradually, as a result, he abandoned contacts with reality. Reality was utilized by him only for its usefulness in contributing to the fulfillment of his fantastic delusional system.

#### V. SIMULATION

The question is frequently asked in connection with the history of a case as has been outlined in this article whether or not the material produced at the examination was an attempt on the part of the patient to escape the penalty for his misdeeds by simulating insanity. A procedure of this kind is so frequently resorted to by criminals of a higher level of intelligence that this question must be disposed of in the present case before a decision can be rendered as to whether or not Johan was legally responsible for the commission of his acts. Enough material has been submitted to indicate that the system of ideas was the process of development over a period of at least twelve years prior to the murders and that the delusional system in essence did not change materially throughout the period. The concept of the patient as outlined bears a marked similarity to delusional trends that have been observed in patients whose diagnosis is unqualifiedly that of schizophrenia-hebephrenia form. It is extremely doubtful that any patient who did not have the benefit of a wide criminal experience in the study of psychosis could simulate so faithfully the personality pattern shown by Johan.



Furthermore, simulation would not gain for Johan any escape from punishment. By the time that the real act of punishment might be imposed upon him by the State he knew that since he is immortal in his own opinion he could not be punished. In fact he was not interested in the State's case and he did not care whether or not he had legal defense. His indifference to his fate from the standpoint of reality of life is quite evident. Moreover while he was in police custody awaiting trial for the murder of two people he spent many hours of intense concentration upon his delusions rather than upon the personal outcome of his own fate. He discussed his case from a legal viewpoint only when forced to do so which was at total variance with the reaction of a malingerer. Those who seek to delude the law tend to overemphasize their own personal demands upon it.

#### VI. THE LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY OF JOHAN IN THE MATTER OF THE DOUBLE MURDER

The law in endeavoring to arrive at the legal responsibility of an individual for the commission of an act has set up a standard known as the MacNaughton Formula in which the mentality of the individual is analyzed to determine whether or not he can distinguish the difference between right and wrong and whether or not he knows the nature and quality of the act which he has committed. The way has been cleared for the answering of these questions by means of ruling out any simulation and through a detailed discussion of the delusional system which Johan had created for himself over a period of twelve years. Not only was the motivation of the crime laid down by this delusional system but at the time of the actual perpetration of the murders such a tremendous internal conflict was occurring within the patient's mind that he actively hallucinated. It will be recalled that he was showered with sparks and electricity and that a flood of light descended upon him at the moment he completed strangulation of the daughter. Following the murder of Mrs. A. apparently he sat in the darkness for hours awaiting the appearance of her daughter. His account of the interim makes it plainly evident that he was in a state of confusion. The only dominant thought that could force itself upon his attention was that he must kill L. and that the day of all days had finally come. It was the day of resurrection. Under the stress of delusions and hallucinations, normal intellectual processes played no essential role,

therefore, Johan at the time of the murders could not *know* the nature and quality of his act. He knew he was being driven towards the performance of an act over which he himself had no personal control. It was necessary for him to bring to a culmination at this time the efforts and beliefs of a lifetime for only in this way could he achieve immortality. With respect to knowing the nature and quality of this, he stated openly on a number of occasions there was no such thing as death and that killing was merely a postponement of life since life could be recreated by him at will at a later time. He has stated that "according to your false standards there are such things as mortal individuals but a mortal can only continue to exist by taking life. The law of this world is you must kill. In order to do anything other lives must be sacrificed."

Johan was studied by me for some seventy hours during the summer of 1933 while he was incarcerated in the local prison awaiting trial. He still exhibited many of the features that were so prominent when the murders were perpetrated. He would begin the examination by excessive talking and would be considerably upset when he was interrupted for explanations on some point he had raised. Upon interruption he would stare at the examiner, grit his teeth, pound the table viciously with his fists and yell that he would not suffer any interruptions. If allowed to talk at free will he would become ecstatic and enthusiastic. Marked emotional instability as revealed by rapid shifts in mood from happiness to sadness and to agitation were quite common. At times he was in such a vicious frame of mind that the examiner felt some qualms regarding his own safety, more especially since Johan threatened he would kill the Warden or the Prison Physician or Guard. He would then pace the floor and behave like a caged animal.

The singleness of purpose under which he conducted himself in a state of emotional excitement was revealed by his actions at the time of the murders. Johan's rationalization was "it was all divine power; things were done as they were done by providential guidance." Throughout the selection of the trial jury the patient conducted himself in an exhibitionistic manner and gave no evidence that he felt any concern over the death of the two people, nor his own fate. The trial became for him a theatre in which he was the principal actor and he could strut his little hour upon the stage.

While Johan was very anxious to have the trial continued, he, nevertheless, entered a plea of guilty to second degree murder. The plea was submitted while the jury was being selected. Johan regretted

that he would not be able to tell the whole world about his attainment to the role of God, indeed, to his superiority over Him. He laughingly told how he planned to vanish from the witness chair. "I'll just demonstrate to the non-believers. I'll simply vanish. In a fraction I'll appear in Connecticut or Texas or any place on the globe. But I'll return to the witness chair. Suppose they should find me guilty? Do I care? That's your mortal way of doing things. I've developed power that will make it impossible to electrocute me." Johan had no concern over the trial itself or its mortal consequences. Indeed, he laughed heartily at what he called the ineffectual activities of mankind, all of which he was prepared to correct.

Johan was sentenced to prison and shortly thereafter was transferred to a hospital for the criminal insane.

Upon admission to the hospital he continued to speak of "visualization" and his power over the secrets of life by the study of which he hoped ultimately to aid humanity to the point of immortality. The persistence of an act for which he termed "insistence" was illustrated by him as something that could be continued indefinitely even though the physical appearance of the object was destroyed. For example, he thought that a note struck on a piano appears to disappear but as a matter of fact it survives for all time and the demolition of the piano in no ways prevents the eternal existence of the note that had been struck. At times he was rather friendly and agreeable but if he suffered any frustration he would raise his voice, thump the table with his clenched fists and become enraged. Shortly after admission he started carrying on a correspondence with a young woman, frequently inclosing photographs of his own execution which were rather symbolic in nature and schizophrenic in character. He jumped from one plan to another. At one time he was all wrapped up in the writing of a book on crime. Shortly thereafter he had developed a shorthand system which would be far superior to anything in existence. Ideas of reference were common. He complained that the employees were unfriendly to him and that the other patients were talking about him. In July he assaulted another patient and when apprehended he threatened to kill someone and actually endeavored to detach a fire extinguisher nozzle on the wall to accomplish his purpose.

#### VII. SUMMARY

A young man, whose age was twenty-nine, murdered two women.

The culprit evaded capture for several weeks but finally gave himself up and entered a plea of guilty at his trial. Psychiatric examination revealed that he was emotionally unstable as a child, that he came from a broken, poverty-stricken home, and that his adaptation to his environment including school was socially quite unsatisfactory. From a vocational point of view he had much difficulty in holding down a job because of his excessive temper which led to repeated fights with other employees. He was enabled to get jobs fairly frequently because of artistic ability which later manifested itself by the production of several sculptures of merit. At the age of fifteen slowly forming mental attitudes crystallized themselves into marked delusions which persist unchanged to date. These delusions were concerned with the matter of the patient's attaining immortality and the power of controlling the universe. The patient felt that in achieving this it was necessary to develop an internal pressure which could only be done by killing certain people. The murders were committed with the delusion that the accomplishment of this act would bring to the patient control of the universe which he had planned for so many years. The act was accompanied by delusions, visual hallucinations, a great sense of mental confusion and disorientation. The progress of the mental disease has been uninterrupted and has been diagnosed on several occasions as schizophrenia.

## PSYCHOLOGICAL MOTIVE IN CRIMINAL ACTION

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Several years ago Alexander and Staub published a book on crime and criminals in which "the essential folly of asking ourselves why does this person become a criminal, instead of asking why don't all people become criminals," was pointed out for the first time. They go on to say, "Our customary approach to this problem rests on an assumption that it is natural to become a righteous citizen and that a special explanation is necessary when people do not respect social regulations. Psychoanalysis, on the other hand, teaches that people come into the world with impulses and instincts that are not adjusted to society; that they are born as criminal beings, meaning by this that if a little child could realize the demands of its instincts, it would act as a criminal. Further investigation then shows us that the entire development of the instincts of the child, from the age of four or five or six on consists of a gradual adjustment of the demands of the instincts to the demands of society, a development which no human being carries to complete success. Only one part of the personality becomes socially adjusted. That another part of the person remains asocial or criminal is proven by dreams, the slips of everyday life, day dreams, the psychoneurotic and psychotic symptoms, in short by all the outward expressions of the life of the psyche in which unconscious impulses come more clearly to light. The motor control of the criminal impulses and the partial exclusion of them from consciousness is the highest accomplishment of adjustment to society in the cultured human being of today. Various people succeed in varying degrees in this adjustment. The right form of the question is, why do not people in general become criminal, or differently formulated, through what processes of development does the originally asocial child turn into a social being. In the disturbances of this process of adjustment we shall find the etiological causes of delinquency."

Anyone acquainted with the psychoanalytic conception of the nature and causes of neuroses and other types of personal maladjust-

ment will readily recognize how identical Alexander's approach to the problem of criminalism is with the approach to the general problem of human maladjustment, if one accepts the psychoanalytic view of the nature of the human personality. We shall follow this view in these lectures, not only because it is a widely and popularly accepted point of view, but because some thirty years of close clinical and administrative contact with the problem of crime has convinced us that this view is capable of shedding more light on the problem of human motivation, criminal or otherwise, than any other view. I wish to indicate, however, before we proceed any further, that my conception of a psychoanalytic approach to the study of man, is the kind of approach which seeks to discover and evaluate the nature and significance of unconscious sources of attitude and motive in addition to those consciously entertained. It seeks, furthermore, to assess present and contemporary manifestations of attitude and conduct in the light of their genetic history, no matter how far such an inquiry may lead into the childhood and infancy of the individual. The precise technique for achieving these ends is of secondary importance, and must, in any event, be adjusted to the needs and capacities of the individual under investigation. It should also be pointed out, in view of the difficulties which usually attend the therapy of chronic illness or chronic maladjustment, that the essence of the problem of crime is the problem of the recidivist in crime. While a psychoanalytic approach is better able than any other type of approach to bring out enlightened understanding to both the investigator and subject of study, it is not true, at any rate, in the case of the chronically maladjusted that knowledge and enlightenment are in themselves sufficient to transform ingrained tendencies and habits, especially when these are sustained by deep-seated motivations of an intimate inwardness. Careful psychiatric and social studies of large numbers of recidivists in crime have convincingly demonstrated that the lives of these individuals are commonly burdened with a host of environmental and developmental vicissitudes which can readily be characterized as serious privations and frustrations. These in turn commonly and perhaps inevitably lead to certain attitudes of mind and to certain fixed convictions which readily furnish adequate sources of motivation for a life of crime.

Repeated punishment and imprisonment, or the threat of punishment to come does not ordinarily modify these fixed convictions. On the contrary, in the majority of instances, the customary social technique of



dealing with the recidivist only promotes the rationalization on their part of their mode of conduct. The great majority of them began their careers as maladjusted children, truants or juvenile delinquents. In a great many instances they came from broken-up homes, from homes lacking in harmony, peace and a minimum degree even of economic and social and emotional security. The difficult task of their upbringing was frequently in the hands of harassed, fatigued, over-burdened and emotionally maladjusted parents, who just as frequently as not resented the arrival of an additional unwanted child. Or, not infrequently these harassed mothers were driven by a blind urge to over-compensate the new arrival for the privation, insecurity and neglect which were to be his lot, by an excessive emotionalism and pampering, thus throwing obstacles in the way of an adequate emancipation. In either case, many of these individuals were exposed as children to a disharmony and instability in the economics of love and affection which are so commonly at the root of a criminal as well as a neurotic career.

Thus, both nature and nurture combine to form the matrix in which motivation of conduct, normal as well as abnormal or unsocial or criminal has its being naturally, in response also to the vicissitudes of one's live life and bread life. The problem of criminalism requires both for understanding and management a sociological as well as a psychological approach since motivation is conditioned by factors which are always a mixture of the personal and social aspects of the personality. That which to begin with was an environmental or sociological datum, becomes, through various psychological processes introjected and part of the personality if it is to play a role in the motivation of conduct. Similarly, the subjective and personal, the internal dispositions of man succeed by means of projection in shaping his physical, psychological and cultural environment. There thus takes place a constant, dynamic interplay of forces which can only be understood in relation to motivation of conduct, criminal or otherwise, when one takes as a point of departure, the known and generally accepted views of the nature of the human organism. Only on the basis of such charting of human nature in general, is it possible to assess the significance of individual experience or accidents of life in an attempt to evaluate the nature and quality of a specific act, or a specific human being. Only on the basis of such general background is it possible to determine the role of one's congenital equipment or constitution in moulding his character.

Similarly, the types of early experiences within the family group and broader cultural setting, the character of early patterns of response to ordinary and unique experiences, and the rate and quality of the developmental process are likely to tell a more revelatory story, when viewed against a background of some general conception of the nature of man. It should be helpful, therefore, before we proceed much further with the consideration of the problem before us, to review this complex and still very controversial topic of current conceptions of the nature of man. Obviously we cannot do full justice to this task in a lecture or two and we shall have to resort to the pragmatic device of presenting such views as have been found helpful in the actual practice of medicine and psychiatry in attempts to understand and correct problems of human maladjustment. We shall see, as we go along that the concepts and techniques which have been found in the practice of psychiatry, particularly of a psychoanalytic psychiatry, can readily be adopted for an understanding and management of the problems of the individual delinquent. Let us consider first of all the individual as a function of his environment and culture and see what the conditions and requirements are for his adjustment to this product of man which we call civilization.

## II

We are familiar from the observation of certain lower forms of life as well as of man, with certain organic needs or appetites which depend for their satisfaction upon the external environment. On the biological level, that is in the state of nature, these appetites seek and find their satisfaction in the natural environment. Failing this, the animal dies. The means of satisfaction are definite, generic objects, not subject to substitution. On the human level, that is in a state of society, the appetites persist and seek satisfaction, but have to find it in a cultural environment. Failing this, the individual is socially inadequate, or antisocial and is treated accordingly by society. In a certain sense, the character and worth of a human being might be judged from the manner he employs in attempting to adjust to privation and frustration within his cultural environment. The cultural environment is a product of human cooperative living. It arises out of the need of man, relatively weak in the biological struggle for existence, to develop supplementary resources for the struggle. It consists of all those works of man, material and immaterial, which are transmitted from one generation to the

next, growing and changing as a common heritage of the particular group into which each individual is born.

Concretely, the material constituent of the cultural environment includes in our society, all the machinery, tools, structures, goods, materials and products of what we call our civilization. They are the tangible means of satisfying human wants and needs, from food to flying, from amusement and education to warfare, from clothing and housing to celestial photography and television. The immaterial phase of our cultural setting or civilization, on the other hand, comprises all of our arts, sciences, technologies, in so far as they are states of knowledge, technique and skill, rather than their material embodiment; all the prevailing roles, practices and ways of doing things in every department of life from brushing the teeth or combing the hair to courting a lady and worshipping God, each according to its own proper form; all the traditions, customs, laws, beliefs, attitudes, ideas and ideals that are inculcated in the young by example and precept, and conformity to which is enforced by the home, the school, public opinion, industry, the church, the state, all of which social institutions are themselves culture complexes. If these various elements of our civilization, both material and immaterial, are viewed from the standpoint of function, that is, as to how they promote the satisfaction of human needs, many inconsistencies are encountered. First of all, modern civilized life, increasingly urban, exists within an elaborate setting of machinery and apparatus, of economic specialization and interdependence, of a complex social organization and an intricate fabric of rights and obligations. As a result, the satisfaction of each of the primary and irrepressible appetites is regulated and hedged about with a multitude of cultural conditions, to which it must adjust and conform on pain of suppression.

The cultural environment of a group or a people, tends at every stage in its history to take on a certain inner consistency or pattern. Certain dominant traits or trends pervade every part and give the character to the whole civilization. This consistency or unity in the culture pattern is, to be sure, incomplete in a dynamic society. Some parts change more rapidly than others, notably among us material and technological development outstrips the development of ideas and beliefs and of the machinery of social control. Thus arises what Ogburn has called "cultural lag" and the consequent conflict between one department of life and another. Industry and commerce, for example,

create new material conditions of life and ways of doing things, and of social relations from the family circle to the family of nations. These new outward conditions continue for some time to run athwart the older traditional scheme of moral, religious, philosophical and legal conceptions and codes, which therefore fail to regulate them or to serve the individual as guides to behavior amidst the novel situations thus created. The result is social maladjustment in all its manifestations from tensions in the home, in the school and in the shop, to strained international relations. Thus the human individual grows into resemblance with the group type and into conformity with its ways. But it would be entirely false to infer from this that he is playing a merely passive role in the process. Neither would it be correct to assume that his conflicts and difficulties remain on the level of individual environment relations. Even at birth the human infant is not mere putty to be shaped and moulded at will by his elders. He is a living organism, though somewhat incomplete, and as such is constantly active, not merely receptive. His activity, moreover springs from needs and impulses within his own being and is only set off, not initiated, by external stimuli. It is only on the basis and by way of these pre-existing tendencies, this unlearned capacity of the infant organism to react, however, inadequately, to elements in his environment, that behavior of any kind is possible. That specifically human, socially acceptable behavior shall be possible, a further condition is requisite, namely, that those original reaction mechanisms and their neural structures be incompletely pre-formed and unorganized. To the extent that this condition is present, scope is given to the learning process or the conditioning process and the way is opened for an extensive development, modification and integration of the original mechanisms toward the complex behavior-pattern of the civilized individual. The greater plasticity of the human infant as compared with the young of the lower animals, consists, therefore, not in the absence of instinctual tendencies or drives, in the sense of the *tabula rasa* of the 18th century psychology, but in their relative structural incompleteness and functional indeterminateness. Every adaptation of an animal to environment involves a modification of instinct. While the range of individual adaptation, that is, of learning, in the lower animal forms is relatively narrow, in the higher forms it is relatively wide. The simpler and the more stable the environment, the less is the need for adaptation and the more adequate the original instinctual equipment, plus such simple habits as may be built upon it. Conversely, as the en-

vironment becomes more complex and dynamic, the need for flexibility increases, so that fixed behavior mechanisms, whether inborn or ingrained are inadequate and finally become obstacles to adjustment.

The first step toward facilitating adaptation to a changing environment is the formation of habits through the conditioning of instinctive tendencies. This makes available a greater variety as well as greater adequacy of behavior reactions. The original instinctual drive is not replaced but displaced, not suppressed but redirected and continues to motivate the new forms of behavior. The process continues when certain habits cease to meet the need of a changing situation and have themselves to be reconstructed. Certain situations of modern life, especially in the economic and scientific spheres, are so rapidly changing that habitual modes of behavior are always inadequate and heavy demands are made upon the still more flexible mental functions of inventive thinking, imagination and judgment. The strain of the cultural requirements upon the adaptive capacity of the individual may prove too great and then one of several results ensues. Essentially, this strain reflects the struggle for the domination of the personality and its behavior between two sets of forces, those deriving from the claims of instinct and those which reflect the demands of culture.

Some workable compromise has to be struck between these contending forces and the so-called normal individual ordinarily manages to achieve this end. We might pause for a moment here and attempt a delineation of what such a so-called normal individual would be like from the point of view of psychoanalytic psychology. Such an individual will have achieved an expedient distribution of his libido, or life energy so that it is apportioned in a nice balance between the various aspects of the personality. Firstly, his Ego, or core of personality would correspond to the cultural level of his social environment, through having cultivated the prevalent standards of morality, shame, aversions, conscience, sense of reality, judgment, logic, *etc.* Secondly, a certain amount of his life interest or energy would be directed towards a variety of sublimated activities, such as love for and interest in one's work; active association with one's fellows; an impulsion for service, love of nature, of artistic, scientific or religious pursuits, devotion to family, group or national interests. In addition the normal adult will be capable of directing an adequate amount of his libido into heterosexual relationships with a person consistent with his own ego and self-esteem, and will have achieved a secure hold of his sexual impulses.



This definition essentially envisions an emotionally mature human being, in whose developmental history no serious obstacles had been encountered to a mastery of the various developmental phases of the libido, without undue excesses in the direction of either indulgence or denial. No individual probably achieves complete success in this regard and in moments of stress evidences of fixations or tendencies to regression come to light. Certainly, there is evidence in the dream-life and phantasy life of the average individual that the unconscious aspects of the personality do not participate in the maturing process. Finally, so-called "normality" is a relative and not an absolute concept.

We might at this point attempt by way of contrast a delineation of the so-called neurotic individual since social inadequacy, or anti-social proclivities, at any rate, in those who are chronically and habitually subject to them are in the great majority of instances based upon a neurotic background. Let us recall, that according to psychoanalytic theory, the new born infant is an uncivilized, primitive little savage, driven by primitive and unsocialized instincts to pursue the path of immediate gratification of desire, no matter at what cost. If these little savages had the strength to carry their impulses into action, the life of the adults who surround them would be menaced at every turn. It is raw material of primitive instinct and impulse that has to undergo the humanizing and socializing process which we call civilization. Now while the pious notion that everyone is born equal has been amply discredited, it is erroneous to assume that because of this the significance of environment or the obligation of those who have the rearing of children in hand is thereby lessened. Extreme instances of hereditary handicap apart, the destiny of every new born individual, as far as his evolution is concerned from the primitive, asocial and amoral state of infancy to emotionally and socially mature adulthood lies in the hands of his parents, guides and teachers, since the modification of the child's nature takes place in response to the attitudes and behavior of the people in his environment. In this sense, criminals, like saints, are not born but made.

Neurotic behavior is in many respects similar to the behavior of children. Although adult and experienced, they are not self-reliant, they fear to be left alone, are much preoccupied in a capricious manner with the various bodily functions, are extremely egocentric, everything and everybody being mobilized in the service of their disorder. They are frequently beset by feelings of inferiority with the attendant neu-



rotic compensations; they ask and demand devotion which otherwise would not be theirs, but get it nevertheless through assuming a childish state of helplessness; they are impetuous, shy and difficult with strangers, usually very much wrapped up in the family setting, evincing very little interest in anything beyond the home. They are inordinately attached to members of their own families, but commonly, like children, very quarrelsome with them. The devotion and constant attention they come to demand at the hands of their parents, especially mother, is quite ludicrous and pathetic. Their inability to free themselves from parental and familial emotional ties prevents them from establishing adult attachments of love and friendship, or they may exaggerate beyond reason the value of a "best friend." They are gullible, excessively suggestible and incapable of sustained effort. They are all in some degree sexually immature. A large contingent of the population of the average prison is characterized more or less in the manner above described, with such modifications as certain criminogenic environmental impacts have imposed upon the picture. The selfish, predatory, aggressive tendencies which characterize some of the so-called hardened criminals can often be best understood as compensatory or reactive manifestations of an essentially pathetically childish individual. When the strain of cultural requirements becomes too severe these individuals seek an escape from an unbearable situation in a psychosis or neurosis or set themselves up against the social order by behavior that is called criminal.

What has been said needs further elaboration from a social as well as a psychological point of view.

There can be no doubt but that the very complexity of modern life makes for the various forms of personal demoralization which we have mentioned above. This is certainly true of some neuroses and of much of the inadequate and antisocial behavior which burdens social life. For our social organization and the cultural edifice which it supports are not primarily devised to insure to all the equitable satisfaction of their human needs. This would not be so serious a problem in a static social order built upon caste, such as the feudal system of medieval Europe. There, the lower orders were content with a bare subsistence, hard work and few pleasures in this life and did not begrudge their social betters the relative ease and abundance which the latter enjoyed as a matter of right by virtue of noble birth. In a democratic society, however, where theoretically all are equally entitled to the pursuit of happiness and by implication to its enjoyment, the actual inequalities

in opportunity and contrasts in wealth and welfare are not so readily accepted by the less fortunate as a matter of course. The young, underpaid bank clerk, for example, imbued with a laudable ambition to "get on" socially, witnessing the rapid rise of others about him to wealth and influence by means not always impeccable, and surrounded with opportunities and temptations to enrich himself by speculation, is not apt to be restrained by regard for honesty and fidelity, virtues of which he sees little in business practice and unless he is restrained by fear of discovery and of the law, the descent to the Avernus is easy. We should mention still another important social phenomenon. Man accepts the denials and restrictions which living in association with others imposes upon him not without resistance and protest and only in return for the benefits and securities of civilized living. When he does repress his egocentric and selfish tendencies in the service of civilized living in association with his kind, he does so with the tacit understanding, at any rate, that society in its turn has assumed certain obligations towards him. Among these obligations of society towards the individual one of the most important and most highly valued is the assurance of equal justice to all, a sense of justice and rightness on the part of the community of which he is a member.

It is as if the individual were to say, "I'm willing to curb my appetites and restrain my impulses if in return I'm assured adequate compensation in the nature of a fair and just allotment of my share of opportunity for the pursuit of life and happiness in the here and now." Our culture at times exhibits a cynical disregard of this contrast, and flagrant violation of the sense of justice, which I've found to be in the case of many habitual criminals an important argument for the justification of their criminal acts. Thus it is true that one thief begets another, and the more highly placed socially this thief happens to be, the more surely will he release an epidemic of thieving.

The violation of justice on the part of those who have been chosen to assume the just administration of the law, a flagrant example of which we have recently had in our own community, is perhaps the most important single cause of criminalism at a given place and time. Similar violations of trust on the part of parents are seriously damaging to the developmental process.

### III

On the other hand, the careful study of the careers of chronic

offenders against the law has demonstrated beyond a doubt that their life destinies were governed and directed by inner drives or compulsions upon which external conditions of an environmental or cultural nature seemed to have very little influence or no influence at all. They seemed to be "instinct ridden" creatures with an amazing talent for getting themselves and others into trouble. If it is claimed that the neurosis is the reverse of criminalism, these so-called "neurotic characters" are in a sense the reverse of the neurosis, whether or not they come into actual conflict with the law. It is not at all unlikely that the achievement of a better technique for the understanding and treating of these individuals will constitute the most important contribution of psychiatry and psychoanalysis toward a solution, or at least, a significant amelioration of the problem of crime. But in order to enable us to present this topic with the necessary clarity we will be obliged to review briefly and as non-technically as we can some of the structural and dynamic concepts of psychoanalytic theory.

On the structural, or morphological side, psychoanalysis conceives the human personality to be composed of three distinct but constantly interacting aspects or divisions or strata, if you please. These divisions of the personality might be likened to three reciprocating or, as sometimes happens, antagonistic engines, since it is their dynamic and not their structural quality which matters. There is first of all, the conscious, socially oriented aspect of the self, that aspect of it which is in constant contact with the realities of the external world. It is that aspect of me and you which we readily perceive in each other and makes possible communication between us. It compromises our receptive and executive functions, conscious and deliberate thought and activity. It is clear that whatever other sources of motive and conduct there may be within the personality, the final translation of them into action or non-action must take place through the medium of this conscious self, which in psychoanalytic terminology is called the "Ego." In the final analysis, it is the quality of the Ego which determines the issues of adaptation.

The next aspect of the personality might be designated for the sake of clarity as the instinctual self, the "Id," in psychoanalytic terminology. It is the hypothetical reservoir and repository of primitive egocentric and socially unadjusted strivings and impulses; in other words, man's instinctual, innate and unlearned equipment which has furnished so much occasion for controversy among students of the

human mind. While its existence can be readily inferred in the human being from the observation of man's pursuits and strivings, manifestations of it in pure form come to light in the dream and phantasy life and in states of personal demoralization or disintegration as in the insane. The "Ego" is the visible and readily accessible product of rearing, education and culture; it reflects the impress upon the originally unsocial, and unmoral and unadjusted human infant of his social and cultural environment; it is the evidence of the moulding influence which home, school and street life has exercised upon the developing personality for good or bad. We have already seen that an important objective of rearing and education is the weaning of the developing child from the lures and attractions of the egocentric, selfish and unsocial aspects of his instinctual self with the view of adjustment to the requirements of living in association with others. The views concerning the precise nature and number of the so-called instincts in man are too numerous to recite here. Freud originally spoke of the two sets of instincts which for brevity's sake might be termed the ego-preservative and race-preservative instincts. A later modification of his views on instincts in man, namely, the introduction of the concept of the "death instinct," caused a radical re-orientation in psychoanalytic theory and practice on the part of those who accept the existence of a death instinct. Healthy, efficient and happy functioning according to this view would depend upon the kind of fusion between Eros and Thanatos in which Eros assumes the upper hand. Our understanding of the "neurotic character" and his place in the problem of criminalism has been facilitated through the assumption of the existence in man of aggressive, destructive and hostile tendencies which sometimes are directed against others and at other times against oneself. There is still another aspect of the self which plays an important role in psychoanalytic theory, the "Super-ego."

It is conceived of as part of the Ego which becomes differentiated very early in the development of the child and gradually becomes organized into the subjective and largely unconscious quality of the personality which we consciously and formally appreciate as conscience. It becomes the subjective, automatic, internal monitor of conduct, the still voice of conscience, and is capable of exercising unlimited cruelties in the form of conscious and unconscious tendencies to self-punishment, because of its primitive, undifferentiated imperatives, its blind and uncritical assumption during infancy and early childhood of

the tabus and prohibitions of adults, who are viewed by the child with a mixture of awe, admiration, love, fear and hate. The Super-ego determines the character of the Ego's attitude towards the instinctive impulses, in other words, the quality of the compromises, inhibitions or yieldings which prompt us in our attitudes and behavior with respect to the question of satisfying desire and appetite.

These morphological concepts of Ego, Id and Super-ego, whose chief value is that of facilitating intercourse between the minds of men, would nevertheless remain meaningless, unless we succeed in conceiving of them as energy carriers, as participants in the dynamics of total human functioning. We will then readily perceive that there are possibilities here of harmony and disharmony, of conflict and compromise, even when the constitution and character of each is normal in itself. But there are also possibilities of pathological qualities in the constitution of every one of these aspects of the human personality and these deviations from normal would naturally be reflected in the final goal of human activity, adjustment to the demands of civilized living. Thus to begin with, it is permissible to assume differences in the original strength, intensity and plasticity of the instinctual equipment. We know of individuals who are very rigid and unplastic and yield with great difficulty or not at all to the necessary changes and adaptations which growth from childhood to adulthood calls for. People certainly differ in the character of the "Super-ego" or natural conscience which their individual experience has shaped and fashioned for them. They also differ, as is readily observable, as regards the nature and quality of their Ego. Here original endowment, intelligence, education, experience and opportunity play an important role. Finally, all of these things are capable of influencing materially the inter-relations between the various aspects of the personality.

In the transference neuroses so-called, that is, the various forms of hysteria and obsessional and compulsive states, we are dealing with individuals whose maladies are the result of a failure to resolve the intra-psychic conflicts which are caused by a too rigid and unyielding inhibition or denial or rejection of the claims of instinct. The Ego, or Conscious and socially oriented self has not undergone any appreciable weakening or demoralization, but it is inhibited and its efficiency is interfered with to a greater or lesser extent because it has become a house divided against itself. The hysteric or compulsive neurotic has insight into the fact that something is wrong, he is capable of a



considerable degree of auto-criticism, and consciously, at any rate, desires and seeks relief from his difficulties. Without entering into a detailed consideration of the precise nature or etiology of hysteria or the compulsion neuroses, it might be said that one is dealing in these conditions with an excessive denial or restriction of the claims of instinct or nature in response to rigid and excessive tabus imposed upon the life of instinct by the repository of the claims of nurture and culture, the Super-ego. It is important to keep in mind that irrespective of the difficulties which the psychoneurotic experiences in his relation with others, in his social adjustments, the conflict is an intra-psychic one. In so far as the claims of culture constitute an element of this conflict, these claims have long ago become internalized and to all intents and purposes part of the very nature of the individual, and have acquired a degree of significance and power which is only equaled, as far as our observation of the self torturings of these individuals leads us to infer, of instinct itself. In mental disease proper, in the so-called psychoses, the situation is quite different.

Here one might say, for the sake of brevity and simplicity, the claims of instinct assume ascendancy, and are given more or less free rein. Through the abandonment of the sense of reality and of the capacity for auto-criticism, the claims of culture are increasingly ignored. Psychotic thinking and behavior reflect a regression of libido to the earliest narcissistic phases of development, the individual becoming more or less completely indifferent to the demands of reality. He lives in a more or less complete subjective world, in which the claims of instinct find their expression and goals in symbolic constructions and behavior. Nothing has to be subjected to the critique of reason or reality, all that is required is that it follows the dictates of unadulterated and unmodified instinct. Obviously, the chief damage here is in the quality of the Ego, of the conscious and socially oriented self. It is of interest in this connection to point out that the same state of affairs ensues whether the damage to the Ego is due to organic or toxic agents or psychological developmental vicissitudes. In the psychotic original intra-psychic conflict becomes mainly a conflict between Ego and reality.

With this brief differentiation between the psycho-neurotic and psychotic we hope to have paved the way for a useful consideration of the so-called "neurotic character." Unquestionably, many of the so-called psychopaths, chronic offenders against the law, addicts and the

chronically socially inefficient belong to the category of "neurotic character."

Before proceeding with a discussion of this subject, we are again obliged to digress somewhat to a discussion of general theory. I will begin by calling your attention to certain differences in attitude between patients who suffer from a psychologically conditioned illness and those in whom the ailment is physical and caused by physical agents, assuming of course that in the latter case we are dealing with individuals who in addition are non-neurotic. In these latter instances the physician would be very much surprised if he were to encounter in them a resistance to getting well, to say nothing of a definite wish to be ill. But this latter attitude, that is, resistance to getting well and a more or less consciously entertained wish to be ill, is a regular manifestation in dealing with psychologically conditioned disorders and ailments.

The wish to be ill, more or less consciously entertained, might be said to be a basic characteristic of all psychically conditioned disorders, irrespective of the extent to which the manifestations of such disorder may be physical in nature. The individual symptom or the entire illness reflects the compromise which had been achieved in each instance between the stresses on the one hand of ego-dystonic, untolerated, rejected and forbidden instinctual drives and those of a resisting Ego on the other hand. This ego opposition to the direct expression of unacceptable instinctual drives relents in the course of time because of the necessity of doing something about the distress and anxiety caused by the unresolved and active inner conflict, and relative relief is gained through the formation of symptoms, or recourse to illness, if you please.

In thus relieving the Ego of the immediate pain and distress of the existing conflict, the symptom or illness as a compromise solution assumes increasing value and in time comes to be actively defended and protected by the Ego or patient. As long as the underlying conflict remains unresolved, the wish to be ill, to retain the relative relief which the compromises achieved through the illness made possible is persisted in, and constitutes an indispensable characteristic of every psychologically conditioned symptom or illness or abnormal conduct. This is what has been termed the secondary gain form illness.

Now a paradoxical situation emerges which must appear as a curious phenomenon, indeed, at any rate, to those who are in the habit of looking upon every illness as the result of an invasion of the organism

by some noxious agent, physical or psychological, of which the patient naturally would wish to rid himself, and whose cooperation with the physician in this direction should be taken for granted. The paradox disappears once we truly understand the difference in etiology between a psychologically and physically conditioned illness. It is only in the latter cases that we are correct in speaking of *causes* of the illness, in the case of the former we must speak of motives. In a psychically conditioned illness there is an anterior participation of the patient in the creation of the illness. The neurotic symptom is the best that the individual has managed to achieve by his own efforts in his compelling need for doing something about a distressing subjective maladjustment which gives him acute pain and anxiety. Obviously, his solution does not solve the underlying problem. Indeed, when one observes the painful anxiety, the crippling inhibitions and defeats of the compulsion neurotic one wonders what possible advantage there could be in this substitute for a pre-existing difficulty. And yet these patients hang on to their symptoms with extreme and unyielding tenacity. Apparently the terror induced by the threat of the emergence and dominance of a sadistic impulse render desirable the acceptance by the compulsion neurotic of the painful and crippling system of defensive reactions. Moreover, it must be remembered that according to psychoanalytic theory, the neurotic system, being a compromise outlet and realization for the forbidden instinctual drive, must of necessity contain the substitutive and roundabout gratification of the impulse as well as the punishment for its indulgence. Herein the neurotic manner of dealing with forbidden instinctual or Id impulses differs from sublimation as a way of dealing with similar tendencies. Sublimations are likewise substitutive gratifications of Id tendencies, but these tendencies when expressed by way of sublimations, have undergone a sufficient degree of de-sexualization and socialization so that their indulgence is no longer in conflict with Superego injunctions, thus escaping its punitive impositions. To recapitulate briefly what we have said, a psychologically conditioned illness always reflects the compromise struck between the conflicting tendencies of Id and Ego, or putting it in a different way, between the claims of instinct and those of culture. It is a compromise which the Ego accepts only after great initial resistance.

But once accepted, it is defended and protected by the Ego, which is willing to endure the pain of the illness along with the substitutive instinctual gratification which it makes possible. The wish to be ill

then becomes indispensable under these conditions as well as the resistance to cure which we encounter in these patients.

Now it seems that in the so-called neurotic characters this initial Ego resistance to the emergence in action of forbidden Id impulses does not take place at all, or only in a greater or less attenuated form. The Ego or conscious and socially oriented personality permits itself to be permeated from the very beginning by these otherwise forbidden tendencies, sometimes in a more or less modified state, at other times as direct undisguised instinctual expression of cruelty, sadism, perversion, or criminalism. Obviously something must be amiss here with the original Super-ego organization, into the causes of which we cannot enter here in detail. The neurotic character might be looked upon as an asymptomatic neurosis when contrasted with a specific neurosis of the conventional type. Or one might say that the neurotic character's total life performance constitutes the symptom of his neurosis. His individual traits of character are so many attenuated microscopic symptoms similar to those which we encounter in the usual clinical types of neurosis. While the psychoneurotic patient mainly "suffers out" subjectively, so to speak, his ailments, the neurotic character lives them out in his daily behavior.

It is clear that this differentiation is only a relative one, since there are certain characteristics of a subjective as well as an objective nature which are common to both. But in the main, the neurotic character reflects the pathology of his nature in everything he does while the psychoneurotic is capable of mobilizing his illness to a greater or less extent in time and space. Part of the personality of the psychoneurotic is able to stand aside and view his illness with some degree of objectivity and insight. The neurotic character, on the other hand, because of the permeation of his entire personality by Id tendencies and because these tendencies are tolerated by it, readily rationalizes such personal or environmental critique as he may be confronted with and never really possesses true insight. Ordinarily he comes for treatment only because of external compulsion.

It is possible to differentiate two distinct types of neurotic characters, the impulsive and the reactive. To the former belong those individuals in whom primitive instinctual or Id tendencies are permitted a good deal of direct outlet with little or no modification. They include aggressive, antisocial and criminal actions and pursuits as well as unrestrained appetitive indulgences, such as alcoholism and drug addiction,

and overt homosexual as well as heterosexual compliances in the service of a more general Ego satisfaction, that is, bisexual prostitution. In the reactive type, the character traits, indeed the total makeup of the individual constitutes a system of defence against primitive impulse without specific symptom formation as we see it in the psychoneurotic. The picture is commonly that of a profoundly inhibited, socially shy and awkward, inadequate individual, who in response perhaps to strong masochistic urges lives a life of chronic maladjustment, more as a nuisance than as an active disturber of his environment. While the self punishment element is very pronounced in the reactive type it is also present in the impulsive. In the latter, however, punishment and privation alternate with indulgence, or the suffering injects itself into the very experience of indulgence. It is common in these individuals to carry indulgence to excess until whatever pleasure the indulgence might promise becomes vitiated by the painful effects of the excess. This is clearly illustrated in those criminals who after committing a crime leave no stone unturned and miss no opportunity for a slip-up until they are detected and punished for the crime.

It is time that we returned to the original object of this lecture, namely, the consideration of psychological motive in criminal action. I cannot at this point resist the temptation of calling attention to the tautological character of the title of this lecture. Every motive is a psychological event and there is possibility of motivation outside of the realm of psychology. A cause may be a purely physical event which may in turn be converted into a motive. But motivation of conduct always involves an anterior participation on the part of the one who acts, as moving from within. We have seen what the possible backgrounds of criminal motivation may be in the individual case. We cannot possibly survey all the possible conditions which, on the basis of a neurotic disposition, may lead to a criminal.

The case which I have selected for presentation in partial illustration at least of what we have said may not fulfill all the requirements. But it is the best case available to me at the moment. That this man was never formally designated as criminal, that is, arrested and convicted, should only add further interest in the problems he presents.

#### CLINICAL HISTORY

It concerns a white male, thirty years of age, unmarried at the time of my original contact with him in January 1929. He came for treat-



ment, as is the case practically in all individuals of this type, not because of a yielding to an inner need for relief but as a result of the pressure of external events of life, and as an alternative to threats of the family of a more rigid isolation and the more severe privation incident to legal commitment in a hospital for the insane. Since he was then, as he had been always before this, entirely dependent upon his family for his support, he experienced no great difficulty in accepting this compromise of submission to psychoanalytic therapy in a private sanitarium. There was, in addition, however, the consciously very much exploited but essentially unreal motive of rendering himself fit through a psychoanalysis, to marry a young woman of culture and considerable attractiveness who was very much devoted to him and who had made up her mind to marry him no matter what the results of the analysis might be.

At this time, our patient had already had behind him some twenty odd years - about two-thirds of his entire life - of a troublesome and checkered career in which drunkenness, drug addiction, overt homosexuality and homosexual prostitution, thieving and forgery punctuated the daily behavior of a charming, affable and very intelligent personality, a familiar type of sophisticated esthete who possesses a genuine appreciation of art and literature, and who during the past several years and following his psychoanalytic therapy, has achieved some slight recognition as a writer.

Since the brevity of this presentation will necessitate a marked abbreviation of the clinical record, particularly of those aspects of it which have to do with the detailed dynamics of the psychoanalytic procedure, it might be well to summarize briefly at this point whatever reference is to be made to this feature of the presentation.

First of all, the conditions surrounding this patient's coming into psychoanalytic treatment must be kept in mind in any endeavor to estimate the effect of the treatment upon his personality and conduct. He had been exposed to several previous experiences with institutional treatment, always as the final recourse in the midst of a behavior difficulty which forced upon him the necessity of withdrawal to an institution.

The same conditions prevailed when he came to us for treatment. He had a short time before returned from a distant, somewhat primitive country to which he had been sent by his family in a desperate effort to remove him from the trouble in which he found himself involved in

this country and with the vague hope that life in a more primitive and less exacting social environment might benefit him. Upon landing in America, he was drinking heavily and indulging in narcotics to some extent, and while intoxicated set fire to his bed which caused considerable damage to his lungs. While thus acutely ill and without funds, the family, as usual, came to his rescue, had him sent to a well known private psychiatric hospital in the East, and while he was recovering from the acute effects of his physical illness, put up to him the alternative of undergoing psychoanalytic treatment or submitting to legal commitment to a psychiatric hospital. Considerable time and effort had to be devoted, therefore, to attempts to convert this external compulsion to treatment into a personal desire for it, in the face of an unmistakable unconscious, masochistic disposition to inflict upon himself suffering and a type of self-destruction. While he remained in a somewhat irregular, but more or less continuous psychoanalytic treatment for about fourteen months, it cannot be said that the transference relationship had at any time attained the degree of mobilization of affect anywhere approaching the characteristics of the customary transference situation. It was characterized by alternating phases of passivity and submissiveness on the one hand, and intensely aggressive and reckless rebellion and resistance on the other hand. During such negative and aggressive phases, which would ordinarily but not always follow an unavoidable restriction and limitation of his behavior as regards drinking and drug taking in particular, he would exhibit the rawest sort of sadistic and aggressive traits, and a rationalization system of a mean deceptiveness and trickiness which was directed by preference into attempts at interfering with, and if possible, injuring the analyses of other patients with whom he came in contact at the sanatorium. These phases would be followed by states of intense anxiety, depression, contrition and abject submissiveness. His anxiety would at times formulate itself into actual physical fear of the analyst, and he would beg the associates on the staff to intercede for him. He had a very rich dream life throughout his analytic treatment, and his dreams were frequently expressive of frank homoerotic drives, very flagrant defensive manoeuvres with reference to the courting of his fiancée and his prospective marriage, some anxiety manifestations and occasional frank defensive attitudes against castration fears and threats. Shortly before the marriage was actually consummated, he dreamt that after considerable difficulty in overcoming a traffic jam, he finally reached his destination by the rear entrance. This dream

was quite illustrative of his general attitude toward adult heterosexual claims. He married at the insistence of his fiancée and against the advice of the analyst, after he had been in analysis about six months. During this period he was entirely free from all overt homosexual interest or practice, even during the brief occasional episodes of drinking and drug taking, and this freedom from homosexual interest continued for about three years after his marriage. He returned to the practice in a rather aggressive and reckless manner, following a period of consistent privation as regards money matters and sexual behavior which his wife finally imposed upon him in a desperate effort to make him take life more realistically. At no time during his married life were there coital difficulties or desire for sexual experimentation. He was always capable of achieving a rapid and remarkable comeback, even after the most profound regressive episodes.

The pattern underlying his neurotic character traits will emerge in connection with the discussion of his life history. It is difficult to estimate with any precision the effect his treatment has had upon him. I doubt whether we succeeded in eliminating his fundamental drive to destroy himself, but there is not the slightest doubt but that this drive has been substantially modified. At any rate, following the termination of his treatment, he lived the life of a well-adjusted individual, actively at work, sociable, able to meet the requirements of married life and free from the more severely destructive features of behavior for a longer period of time than it had been possible for him since puberty.

The patient comes from an Anglo-Saxon background on the father's side, and some French admixture on the mother's side. His father had five children by his first wife, and after her death, married the patient's mother, at the age of forty-seven. The patient was the only issue of this second marriage, was thus the youngest child of the household and the only child as far as his mother's marriage was concerned. Of the siblings from the father's first marriage, a brother contracted lues and subsequently suicided, another brother died of alcoholism, and a third was killed accidentally. A fourth brother is alive and a fairly successful attorney. At the time of the patient's birth his father had practically retired from active business life and spent a good deal of his time in artistic pursuits. The patient's mother was twenty-three years younger than her husband at the time of her marriage. She is of Anglo-French descent, rather volatile emotionally, much concerned about the external appearance of things, proud, haughty, domineering,

and very self-centered in her relation to her immediate environment, but withal a rather attractive hysterical type. Her father suicided at the age of thirty-eight, and a sister was epileptic. Her outstanding passion in life was her devotion to our patient, her only child, and her life-long disappointment punctuated by periods of intense panic and grief over this son's failure to come up to her expectations.

Thus, apart from the strong suggestion of a considerable hereditary burden, our patient was born into a situation which commonly obtains in the case of the male neurotic, and which undoubtedly favors the neurotic process, namely, great discrepancy between the ages of the two parents. In our patient's case the situation became further complicated by the fact that the mother divorced her husband at about the onset of the patient's puberty and married a dentist whom she met several years before when he performed a serious dental operation on the patient. His father sensed her growing fascination for this dentist from the beginning, and reacted with intense jealousy and frequent outbursts of the impotent rage of the aged under such circumstances. These scenes between his parents left a very deep impression upon the patient, seriously complicated his relation to both, and undoubtedly favored his tendency to deceptiveness and lying which played such a marked role in his later life.

A reconstruction of the patient's infantile memories shows the following psycho-dynamic constellation at the time of his emergence from his early childhood:

A somewhat aged father who had retired from practical affairs and was busying himself around the house with his art collection and carving in an amateurish fashion. The patient recalls with pleasure the many hours he spent watching this old man at his carving in the attic and in being allowed to handle the objects of art. He thinks the old man was very proud of his young and attractive wife, and very fond of him. The patient thinks of himself as having been a highly sensitive and affectionate child, and exceptionally susceptible to sense impressions, especially to odors. The mother was very affectionate with him, and although he was in charge of a nurse until the age of five, he spent a good deal of time in the company of his mother, and recalls keen interest in her appearance and the odors of her room. The nurse was a large, coarse woman, and one of the earliest memories was his manipulation of her genitalia, which she permitted while in bed with him, and his keen interest in the odor of his fingers after those manipulations. His was a

forceps delivery, and there were serious nutritional difficulties during early infancy, with a left-over tendency to stomach-sensitivity. He recalls having gotten nauseated once when quite a young child while eating watermelon, and for years afterwards he could not bear the sight of watermelon. His later oral cravings regarding drinking, drug taking and excessive smoking, retained a high dependence upon fastidiousness in the manner of indulgence. His mother at this time was very active socially, and from the impression which the patient carried away in his memories, not happy with his father. He would see her cry and would be aware of stormy scenes between his parents. She held a great fascination for him at this early age, and one of the first memories of consciousness of an erection was when he peeped at her through the bathroom keyhole and saw her naked body.

He entered kindergarten in a small residential town at the age of six and soon formed a great attachment for a little boy in the neighborhood, whom he admired greatly. A year later he had quite an attachment for a female teacher, was fascinated by her white, soft hands, and would constantly seek opportunity to touch them. About this time, a statue of the Apollo Belvedere, in the main hall of the school, fascinated him very much and he would surreptitiously touch the leaf covering the genitals, with mingled feelings of intense fear and pleasure. He believes this was the first conscious association between pleasure and forbidden activity. Later on there was a good deal of sex play with boys and girls, comparison of appearance and size of genitals, much mutual manipulation but no recollection of masturbation. Several childhood illnesses are recalled during which time there was much pampering and indulgence on the part of the mother and much opportunity of seeing her partially dressed, and with "silk things on" which he was permitted to finger and which episodes he recalls with much pleasure.

He has the vivid recollection of many instances of anger, distress and despair which his mother exhibited in connection with his morbid tendency to lie and deceive, a central characteristic of his adult make-up but cannot place the exact onset of this tendency. He recalls with some affect the incident when, at the age of seven, he forged his father's name to a note excusing him from attendance at school. He was about seven years old when the aforementioned dentist entered upon the scene, which served to complicate matters very much, indeed. This man who, as it turned out later, had from the very first set his heart on marrying the patient's mother, also proceeded to win the child's



affection, an affection which has persisted throughout the years, in spite of the intense grief and troubles the patient's later behavior caused him. Our patient was flattered by this attention from the first, enjoyed the gifts with which this man showered him, but found himself involved in a serious conflict of loyalties in connection with this developing attention. His attachment for the dentist became accentuated during a long siege of diphtheria which he suffered about this time, when this man spent a good deal of time with him, reading to him and trying to amuse him in other ways. He at the same time became keenly aware of jealousy in relation to this man, and during his convalescence picked the eyes out of a photograph of him which he found on his mother's dressing table. When remonstrated with by his mother for this bit of vandalism, he stated that the man had pig's eyes, not the beautiful eyes his mother thought he had.

The prolonged illness and convalescence which isolated him for a good deal of the time, turned him to a good deal of preoccupation with day-dreaming and phantasying. He made up plays which he then acted out before the nurse, usually putting himself in the role of a female and insisting on dressing in female clothes. This very rapidly assumed a passionate character, and he would surreptitiously spend a good deal of time rummaging among his mother's clothes, enjoyed very much the feel and odor of them. He also became aware during this illness of a morbid thrill when his attending physician took him in his arms and squeezed him against his body. The triangular tension between his father, the dentist and his mother, became intensified during this period, when the dentist paid so much attention to him, and he could not avoid being witness to many stormy scenes between his parents on account of this. One day his father caught him in his arms as he entered the room, and declared with considerable emotion that this dentist had stolen his mother from him and now was trying to buy the child's affection with these numerous presents. The patient's usual reaction to the stormy scenes between his parents was with a feeling of nausea, yet in excitement and fear he listened behind the doors, not always comprehending what was going on. His father began to keep to his own bedroom on the top floor, and his mother appeared tragic to the patient, frequently consoled herself by taking him into her lap, rocking and hugging him to the point where he would get very much excited erotically. There ensued a period of intense masturbation, accompanied by a fear that he might not be able to relieve the erection and thus be detected in an

embarrassing situation. He was particularly fearful of exposure in this regard when one of his brothers, who was an officer in the merchant marine at this time, had some tight fitting sailor suits made for him. He became very self-conscious of his body and excessively modest, and since his post-diphtheretic heart condition prevented him from participating in active athletic games with the boys in the neighborhood, he soon began to be called "sissy." This again led to considerable withdrawal and indulgence in phantasying and day-dreaming. The sailor brother would bring home all sorts of oriental trophies from his travels in the Far East. The Japanese swords and gorgeous kimonos, the elaborate mandarin coats fired the boy's imagination, and he found himself living in a wholly imaginary, rather exotic world.

Shortly after his tenth birthday, the patient's father decided to move the family to a far western state, in the hope of breaking up the relationship between his wife and the dentist. Our patient was very much excited over this prospective journey which incidentally, proved to be one of the most important events in an already much complicated childhood. While on this trip he made the acquaintance of the porter of the observation car, a huge negro who enticed him into a very exciting experience of mutual genital manipulation, exposing his genitals to the boy and encouraging him to manipulate them. He became very much excited erotically, himself, found himself in the grip of mixed feelings of delight and repulsion, and although thoroughly frightened, he could not tear himself away. When he finally did tear himself away, he trembled and sweated a long time, and thereafter avoided the observation car. For weeks afterwards, the memory of this experience served to excite him erotically. When in after years he would attempt to find an explanation for his homoerotic tendencies, this episode would always force itself on his mind.

In their new environment, the living conditions underwent a radical change. He and his mother lived in a small hotel room in one city while the father lived in a hotel in a neighboring city. The contrast between the excessive coddling at the former home during the recent illness and the present, rather isolated and restricted life weighed heavily upon the boy and made him very unhappy. He saw his father only occasionally, and he found it difficult to be just one among a number of other boys in the school which he entered. A tutor was finally provided for him. One of his half-brothers was travelling back and forth between the old and the new home, and the patient discovered that he was

drinking heavily and taking drugs. On one occasion the patient awakened during the night and was terrified to see this brother sitting on the edge of his mother's bed, revolver in hand, and the mother pleading with him to relinquish the weapon. He sensed that the brother was intoxicated and threatening to suicide, and he fled in great panic to a house across the street calling for help. When he returned with some neighbors, his mother and brother were sitting on a sofa, the mother having succeeded by that time in getting hold of the revolver. The patient was very much ashamed over his "cowardice" in abandoning his mother in that situation and in running for help to neighbors. This brother was the one nearest to the patient's age, and to whom the patient was very much attached. It was this brother who took great pains, after the patient recovered from his diphtheria, in getting the patient to take up again some boyhood games requiring only mild physical exertion. In his dream life, this brother repeatedly recurs as an object of both identification and affection, although the patient does not recall any overt sexual intimacies between them.

During this time there was also an intense, transient episode of love for a boy slightly his senior. He constantly wanted to be in the presence of this boy, longed for him when away from him, and felt very unhappy when the acquaintance terminated. But another episode which also occurred at this time probably had a good deal to do with fixating the pattern of our patient's later erotic life.

The mother, as was recalled shortly afterwards, was making plans for a divorce, and in line with these plans, made a number of short trips to the East, taking the boy with her. This played havoc with his school adjustment and also exposed him to a number of intense but transient friendships with boys and men. One of these men whom he met on one of his trips took quite a fancy to him, and he turned out to be a confirmed homosexual in his early forties. When they returned to the western city, he invited the boy to his hotel room and there displayed before him his remarkable collection of pictures, books, cards and fans, all depicting very obscenely erotic scenes. The boy's imagination was fired by these pictures, was filled with the same mixture of fascination and repugnance which characterized the episode with the negro. He returned again and again to look at this collection, and although he was not in the least attracted by this man, allowed him to kiss and hug him and manipulate his genitals. The patient left these sessions full of excitement and with strangely pleasant feelings, always, how-

ever, loathing to have the man touch him.

In later years, as well as during the analytic self-scrutiny, the patient was wont to attribute his ready compliance with homosexual prostitution to this episode. He thinks it served to make him aware of possessing something with certain boys and men prized and in return for which one could get certain things one wanted. It served in later life on a number of occasions to get him out of financial and other difficulties without necessarily fulfilling any sexual desire of his own.

An apparently isolated episode of sleep walking during this period when he slept in the room with his mother should also be recorded.

By the time his mother announced to him her definite intention to divorce his father, he had already become, in miniature at least, the suave, sophisticated, glib and somewhat calloused person which characterized him later on. He cried at the mother's announcement of her intention because "he felt it was the thing to do," and not out of any feeling in the matter, and by the time he accompanied his mother to Europe on her wedding trip with the dentist, he was able to impress everyone on the boat with his sophistication and suavity and charming manner, so that he was quite the most popular lad on the boat, he thought. He was about fourteen years old at this time. During part of the two years preceding, he attended a well known private school in a large eastern city. Scholastically, he made indifferent progress, but he was very popular socially, going to many parties and attracting to himself boys with whom he carried on active, surreptitious sex play, always being very much concerned not to have these culminate in an emission, which he did not permit himself until shortly before his trip to Europe. Towards girls he was completely chaste and somewhat domineering in attitude. The hotel life during these years also furnished many opportunities for intimacies with elevator and bell boys, which gave him access to a fund of experience and information which the majority of his school mates were lacking. This gave him a distinct feeling of superiority which he learned to exploit quite effectively to his advantage in many ways, as he continued to do later in life.

In the course of his analysis, the full significance of this period of life during his mother's manoeuvres to rid herself of his father and marry the dentist, came to be appreciated by the patient, and he made a good deal of the several brief sojourns with his father, which he looks back upon as the happiest events of this time, when he would fish and roam the countryside in the company of his father.

The European trip only served to intensify the more or less continuous state of erotic excitation and narcissistic self-regard in which the boy found himself. Although several girls attempted to attract him on shipboard, he paid scant attention to them, fancying himself constantly desired by some man or boy, and as having to fall in love with every attractive male. Only one occasion while in a picture gallery in Florence, did he run across a homosexual with whom he had several physical contacts. He managed to elude the vigilance of his parents and roam the streets of the several European capitols they visited, becoming initiated into smoking cigarettes and slight wine drinking with casual companions. He found himself especially excited over Southern Italy, the climate and atmosphere, everything had a powerful emotional influence over him. He also experienced during this trip the pangs of a complete rebuff, when a young Scotsman for whom he developed an intense passion, completely ignored him. On his return to his native city, he entered a boy's academy but found great difficulty in adjusting himself to the discipline, found studying very tedious and hard, requiring much tutoring and began to resort for the first time to the cultivation of imaginary physical ailments and to exaggeration of actual ones in efforts to escape the necessity of attending school. He also suffered greatly from his clumsiness in athletic activities, especially because he "threw a ball like a girl," was dubbed a sissy, and life generally was made very miserable as a result of the tauntings of the boys. In connection with a slight injury to his knee, which kept him in bed for several weeks, he turned avidly to reading, and later on developed quite a passion for music, attending the opera and concerts as often as he could, and making a deliberate effort to identify himself with the "musical crowd." He succeeded in this, soon becoming a habitue of various musical circles, and very popular among older and rather disreputable aesthetes and homosexuals.

This proved to be very pleasant in contrast to his lack of popularity among the academy boys, so he "went the limit," as he says, necessitating a good deal of deceiving of his mother in order to keep her in ignorance of his contacts. During that summer, while on a trip to visit his father, he fell in with a Swiss, who made a great fuss over him and initiated him into active pederasty. He spent the summer in outdoor activities and in longing after some of his city companions.

No change in his general situation followed this summer's exper-



iences, and the following summer, presumably in an effort to rid him of his "femininity" he was sent to a military academy.

He was miserable here and exploited a slight varicocele so successfully that he managed to spend most of the summer in the infirmary. The following summer, while he was in the country with his mother, he experienced his first excessive drinking episode, became very much intoxicated, stole some money from his mother, and in shame and fear ran to a neighboring village. He was recalled because of the accidental death of the aforementioned favorite brother; and the knowledge that he was carousing and drunk on the night of this brother's death plagued him for a long time afterwards.

Petty thieving and forging, steady drinking, though not to the point of intoxication, casual interest in girls and continuous exposure to homosexual contacts with older men characterized the following several years, at the end of which he managed, with the aid of tutoring, to gain entrance into an Eastern college. He was twenty at the time. His father died two years previously, in isolation, and when the nurse who attended him gave the patient a roll of bills as having belonged to his father, he abstracted a twenty dollar bill, before turning the remainder over to his older brother. The funeral did not affect him particularly, emotionally. During this time also he became very much infatuated with a girl, wanted to marry her, but his mother strenuously intervened and finally managed to separate them.

At college he was a social success from the first, was popular, made the most exclusive fraternity, very active in literary and dramatic activities, and efficient in languages. He failed in all other studies, but was allowed to return. During the first summer vacation he was sent to Europe with one of his teachers. This man turned out to be a homosexual, and from the very beginning, their contacts were characterized by alternating phases of much mutual devotion and quarreling. He became aware during this trip, for the first time, of some "unreasonable drive to get himself into trouble," and apparently succeeded in achieving this. There were numerous scandalous episodes associated with his drinking, thieving and homosexual indiscretions, finally culminating in a rather serious affair, when he attempted to steal some money from a woman's purse in a public restaurant. He was with one of his brothers in Paris at the time, who became alarmed over the patient's excesses and expedited his return home, where he was made to consult a psychiatrist. He returned to college that autumn, consulting this psychi-

atrist every two weeks, but made no progress necessitating his admission to a psychiatric hospital, where he remained from December until the following June. His sojourn at this institution was uneventful, and he claims to have resisted during this period many invitations from homosexuals. At the end of this period he reluctantly agreed to spend the summer with a Grenfell party in Labrador. He did not share in the general enthusiasm of this undertaking and was indifferent to the customary activities. There he met the young woman whom he later married. He resented keenly the fact that he had been compelled to take this trip by the family, a type of reaction to his family which played a significant role in his subsequent behavior. He has, as was indicated above, been consistently dependent financially upon his mother and stepfather. He had developed all sorts of techniques for the exploitation of this source of financial help, and one of the ways to succeed in extracting money from them was to submit completely and presumably willingly to their guidance. But he was aware all the time of a deep resentment of this necessity to subordinate his will to theirs, half-consciously hoping and even planning from the very beginning a thwarting of their will through the ultimate failure of their plans. He returned to college that autumn, but by January following, he was accused of having stolen quite a sum of money from a fraternity brother, was expelled from the fraternity and college under a considerable cloud.

It was at this time that a family consultation was held and the decision reached that the patient be sent off to a far distant, somewhat primitive part of the world, where it was hoped that life in the open and occupation in connection with the cultivation of the soil might serve to stabilize him. However, the history of the several years spent in this fashion was again illustrative of the relentless drive which this man exhibited to place himself in situations that were sure to eventuate in trouble of a greater or less severity. He became much more reckless and promiscuous with regard to his homosexual practices, became habituated to drug addiction, betrayed on several occasions the trust placed in him by some friends he had made out there, and the entire adventure terminated, as has already been stated above, in the accidental setting himself afire, which finally led to his contact with me. After the termination of his regular contacts with me, he spent about three years, which on the whole were expressive of a more healthy and constructive existence than he had ever been able to manage before, but gradually,

the accumulation of the burden of responsibility for the care of his wife, and the lessening concern of his mother and stepfather about his safety, became too much for him and he began to slip periodically into his former flights into alcoholism and irresponsible conduct.

On one of these occasions, while in a homosexual drunken episode, he contracted syphilis, which complicated matters for him very much, indeed, and finally succeeded in getting his wife to assume a more realistic attitude. It was because of this attitude that the patient began to be exposed to increasing experience of privation and therefore to face increasingly rigid demands from his wife and family for a more responsible adjustment to life. He had in the several years previously published a very creditable book and was engaged in writing another, but evidently was not capable of meeting the increasing demands for adjustment, and began to slip into more and more irresponsible and reckless behavior, which finally led to the necessity of recommitment to an institution.

A detailed statement of the manifestation of the internal struggle and conflict which were at the bottom of this man's destiny is impossible in a necessarily brief presentation of his life record, but a sufficiently telling summary of this has been presented to justify placing this man within the category of the so-called neurotic character.

Since the problem of crime obviously has both social and personal implications, the therapy must of necessity also include both psychological and social techniques. We cannot undertake at this time a discussion of the latter, save to say regretfully that far from any signs of improvement in its technique, there has been a definite deterioration in spirit and enthusiasm for any radical reform during the past twenty-five years and since the heyday, at any rate, of the initial establishment of the Psychiatric Clinic at Sing Sing Prison in 1916 by the present writer. As regards psychological therapy, on the other hand, much has been achieved in a preventive way as a result of the extensive interest in child guidance activities as result of the fertilization of the entire field of psychotherapy by the concepts and techniques of psychoanalysis. While it is true that psychotherapy will never be limited to a strictly psychoanalytic procedure, because of its impracticability for economic and other reasons, all forms of psychotherapy have been greatly enriched by the contributions of psychoanalysis.

The beneficent possibilities, for instance, for the administration of the problem of crime from the viewpoint that the capacity for a healthy

adequate adjustment to the requirements of life in society is not the natural birthright of man, but a dearly bought individual achievement in the face of tremendous obstacles. The successful evolution from the amoral and asocial state of infancy to a state of healthy maturity implies the adequate mastery of powerful tendencies of an opposite aim. Conversely, the various manifestations of difficulty or failure of adjustment to the requirements of civilized life reflect a yielding to a greater or less degree to the tendencies which oppose this process of growth and maturing. Motivation of crime assumes a new meaning when the very concept "psychological" has become broadened and deepened. It is not limited to phenomena of consciousness, but includes a wealth of significant manifestations which belong to the life and activities of the unconscious, a region of the personality accessible to us only by special methods of approach, the methods of free association and hypnosis.

Furthermore, psychological phenomena, in the psychoanalytic sense, are charged with a dynamic quality; they are energy carriers capable of affecting the feeling and striving and acting of the human being. Not all psychological manifestations of the personality are subject to the laws of reason and logic. Only those manifestations which issue from the conscious self, the adjusted part of the personality, are subject to these laws. The manifestations of the unconscious, as for instance, the rich and complex phenomena of the dream, do not heed any of the laws which govern the stream of consciousness. The concept of the Id, of a living and enduring part which enters so largely into the shaping of the destiny of the individual must profoundly modify our traditional notions concerning the characteristics of man. Normality, morality or social-mindedness cannot be considered the natural heritage of man, but a dearly bought achievement and the product of the adjustment of man's nature to the requirements of culture. Man's heritage is of an altogether different kind and primarily concerned with his needs as a biological organism. In view of this one need not find it difficult to be in agreement with the psychoanalytic view of the sexuality of man. The sexual instincts of the human being embrace not only their qualities of physiological craving and biological purpose, but also those of human value and idealized aim. It is in its very nature not limited to "genital functioning" but is in its pregenital phases anti-biological and anti-social in nature, whereas in its sublimated phases it constitutes the source and inspiration of the most treasured values

in the cultural heritage of man. It is therefore not erroneous to speak of infra-genital, genital and supra-genital qualities in the sexual dispositions of mankind. The practical significance of a general fertilization of contemporary culture by these few fundamental concepts of psychoanalytic theory can hardly be overstressed. It has already profoundly modified our thinking in many departments of life and its free application to the understanding and management of the problem of crime carries the promise of a significant amelioration of it.

The question of mental health and of the problems, individual and collective, which result from an impairment or lack of it, constitute without a doubt the most important single issue with which this or any other nation is confronted today. Our own social-economic problems are materially affected as regards both causation and amelioration by the state of mental integrity and the degree of emotional and social maturity of the men and women who have anything to do with them.

It is therefore quite futile to expect to deal adequately with the problem of crime by concentrating our efforts solely on the criminal himself, and experience proves the futility of such a limitation of effort. A new approach must be evolved toward the problem, the central objective of which will have to be the discovery of the means and opportunities for making the daily life of the average man and woman, child and adult, more of a constructive experience than it is today, and of eliminating from our social milieu those elements which inevitably drive some of us to criminal action as a way of life.



## MAGIC AND THEFT IN EUROPEAN FOLK-LORE

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A striking feature of European folk-lore in general is the close association between magic, witchcraft and stealing.

According to the Ruthenians the main accusation against the witches is that on the day of the St. George they steal the cow's milk. They counteract this danger by milking the cow through a red hot horseshoe.<sup>(1)</sup> The Huzuls, who are closely related to them, have the same custom, but in addition to the horseshoe they have a wedding ring.<sup>(2)</sup> A ceremonial wedding tree with a hole in it may be used for the same purpose.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1717 one of the superstitions of the people of Angerburg was "*Ut iam taceam superstitionem mulierculam, quae simulac vaccas lac cum cruore reddere observant per foramen lapidis fulminaris eas mulgere solent vel cunis infantum ne fulmine tangantur.*"<sup>(4)</sup> In the Country of Hunyad (Transylvania) if blood is found in the cow's urine they make the cow urinate through a hole in a branch and by doing so they take all the strength of the witch who is responsible for the blood in the urine. The piece of wood with a hole in it is called "witch's vagina."<sup>(5)</sup>

Stealing and magic are the same thing, the witches steal in a supernatural way,<sup>(6)</sup> preferably milk. The way to counteract this theft is to pour milk through a hole, *i.e.*, put it back into the body through the vagina.

In Tyrol the witch steals the cow's milk, prevents the churning of the butter and milks the nails in the stables<sup>(7)</sup> and one of the names for witch is "milk thief."<sup>(8)</sup> Highland witches milk the potchain and in the north of Ireland the magical process is called "drawing the tether." The witch gets the milk and injures the cow while she is doing this.<sup>(9)</sup> Dutch witches injure the cows and take the butter by their magic churning.<sup>(10)</sup>

A real "Butterhexe" in Styria will draw the milk out of the cow through a rope or any other object, if, at the same time she can hide beans or dead man's bones or hair in the house of the woman whose

milk she is stealing. At the same time she can also send worms into the house and these worms eat all the butter, cheese and milk. The only way to get rid of them is to roast the worms, by doing this the witch's feet are burnt.<sup>(11)</sup>

What is really stolen in these cases is not simply milk. It could be more adequately translated as "luck" or in anthropological terminology as "*mana*." In Hungarian and German folklore it is often called the "*profit*" meaning the fertility of a cow or meadow. The "*vorshud*" of the Votjaks is an idol a kind of genius or luck of the family. When they sell a calf they keep the rope used for binding it to prevent their "*cattle breeding luck*" from going with it.<sup>(12)</sup> The "luck is embodied in the ashes of the hearth and if the young man who is going to live in a house of his own does not get it from his father, he must steal it. If they steal oats or rye from a neighbor's field there will be a good crop in the village."<sup>(13)</sup> If the crops are bad the Tschuwash peasant steals earth from a field where they were good.<sup>(14)</sup> The Esthonians will not let anybody take a seed off their field because by doing so they would be giving the "blessing" of the field away.<sup>(15)</sup> Anything that is stolen from another man's field takes the luck away from him and brings corresponding property to the thief.<sup>(16)</sup> On New Year's Eve in Brandenburg, horses are fed with stolen cabbages to keep them strong in the following year or they bury a live puppy under the manger.<sup>(17)</sup> The buried puppy is evidently the "body contents" - the embryo in the womb. Stealing and magic, that is witchcraft are about the same thing: therefore in the French Alps stolen new nails and a stolen black hen are boiled to discover the witch<sup>(18)</sup> and in Mentonais if the cow is bewitched they give her something they have stolen from the witch to eat.<sup>(19)</sup> If somebody steals the first fruit from a tree there will be no more fruit on that tree for seven years or the tree will wither away (Silezia) but if one finds the thief's footprints and hangs them up in the chimney the thief will be afflicted the same way. The first fruit should be eaten by the owner or by a child, then the tree will bear plenty of fruit.<sup>(20)</sup> The stolen object has a symbolic value, it represents the "good body contents" or the "*mana*." If the first apple is stolen (Mecklenburg) they say "*Er hat keine Art*," that is, something essential is missing but there will be plenty of apples if the first apple is carried 'round the house three times in a sack and then deposited at the foot of the tree.<sup>(21)</sup> Restitution here follows the body destruction.<sup>(22)</sup> That the tree or apple tree represents a pregnant woman and the fruit the

embryo or "body contents" becomes quite evident when we are told that in Bohemia the first apple should be eaten by a woman who has had many children, or by a pregnant woman.<sup>(23)</sup> The connection between the fruit and the woman's body is well brought out by customs connected with the harvest and the may-pole. In Wolde on the first harvesting day all sorts of ripe fruits are hung up on a bough in the yard. The boys try to steal the fruit and the girls do their best to prevent them.<sup>(24)</sup>

For the "blessing" or "profit" or milk taken by the witch she sometimes gives excrement as an equivalent.

According to the testimonies of a trial in 1568 the incantation of Hungarian witches for stealing the "profit" is "Witch's (or wizard's) milk and butter in my pail I defecate in your pail."<sup>(25)</sup>

At Göcsej the witches smear human excrements on the cow's udder then they dance before the cow and get the milk in a little pot.<sup>(26)</sup> The popular concept of the "profit" has evidently something to do with the faeces. Manure is to be kept from the day of St. Lucia (Dec. 13) to St. George's day (April 23) and then the cow should be smoked with this manure, that will increase the "profit."

In another connection, I have tried to show that witches are representatives of the "bad mother" image, of the talic aspect of the child's body destruction phantasy. The infant at the pre-oedipal or oral phase of its development reacts to frustration of any kind with a violent aggression with the desire to rend the mother's body apart and to tear out all the valuable "body contents" that is milk (nourishment) siblings, father's penis faeces; all these being interchangeable and not clearly differentiated from each other at this phase of development.<sup>(28)</sup> Hence I suggest the magical value of stolen objects is due to the fact that stealing is carrying out of a body destruction phantasy and the anxiety connected with giving things out of the house is due to the talio aspect of these phantasies.

According to the belief of the Vends, nothing should be given out of the house in the period of the mjas god that is from Christmas to New Year's.<sup>(29)</sup> The witches come for nine days before and after the day of St. Lucia and the First of May desiring to borrow something and if you give them anything connected with cattle this will suffice for them to practice sympathetic magic against the cows. In these periods nothing should be given out of the house, especially no salt, no fire and no bread.<sup>(30)</sup> No fire should be given out of the house between

"new" and "old Christmas" (Jan. 6th) in Holderness and Herefordshire.<sup>(31)</sup> The same taboo obtains in Hungarian folklore after childbirth, nothing should be given out of the house<sup>(32)</sup>—and we can add because the "house" is the pregnant mother and the danger is a loss of all "body contents." If a child is born (County Szatmar, Hungary) nothing should be given out of the house for a week.<sup>(33)</sup> A Rumanian woman throws the dirt out and says "As easily I throw the dirt out may I be delivered of my child."<sup>(34)</sup>

If the thief is really the infant who tears all the "good objects" which life has failed to give him out of his mother's body we can understand why according to Gypsy beliefs it is a suckling child more than anybody else who can detect a thief.<sup>(35)</sup> Something has been taken away, the child has been deprived of something (the mother's love)<sup>(36)</sup> and compulsive stealing is a way of making up for this loss.

According to Welsh beliefs the first time a baby's nails need paring the mother bites them off. If she cuts them the child will be a thief.<sup>(37)</sup> Cutting is evidently regarded as the more radical form of separation, if bitten off, the nails are at least temporarily in the mother's mouth. According to the Hungarians in Göcsej, a child's nails should not be cut before the first year because it will have "bad nails" which means that it will touch everything, *i.e.*, that it will be a thief.<sup>(38)</sup>

The same belief is found among Germans in Transylvania, Haltrich thinks that the explanation otherwise they will be thieves is a modern addition and the original objection to nail paring would be that witches got hold of the nails and would kill the child by their sympathetic magic.<sup>(39)</sup> We have here really two aspects of the same things (1) the anxiety or talio aspect of the body destruction (witches) or (2) the dramatization of the body destruction phantasy (stealing).<sup>(40)</sup> We find the same taboo on cutting finge nails in Voigtland with the addition that nothing should be cut from a child's clothes otherwise we cut a piece of luck off.<sup>(41)</sup> We have suggested that the thief breaking into a house is carrying out an attack against the body of the pregnant mother, a "body destruction" phantasy. The belief in the "thief's candle" as we find it in various parts of Europe proves that our explanation is correct. In St. Petersburg (Russia) in the year 1889 three peasant lads of the Government Kursk, were accused of having murdered a girl of eleven, cut her into pieces to make candles out of her fat. Candles made of human fat would enable their owner to become invisible and to steal or take whatever they desired with impunity. Originally they wanted

to take the corpse of a woman who had died recently. Then they changed their mind and tried to kill various people till they succeeded with this girl. In Bosnia (Yugoslavia), thieves and burglars kill pregnant women, open the uterus, take the foetus out, and cut it in long thin strips. They desiccate these strips and light them when they are burgling a house because all inmates of the house will sleep like dead and nobody can wake before they have left.<sup>(42)</sup> In Göcsej, embryos were cut out of the body of their mothers when a woman had died in pregnancy because a candle made out of the fingers of these embryos renders the thief invisible. In Oldenburg, the burglars simply put the finger of an unborn child on the table and everybody in the house falls asleep. In Wardenburg, robbers and murderers rip pregnant women up, cut the embryo out, and make candles of its fingers. As long as these candles are burning the inmates of the house can not awaken. The only way to extinguish these candles is by dipping them into sweet milk. A robber in the 18th century confessed under torture that he opened nine pregnant women to get the embryo. If some one breaks into a house he must have as many fingers of unborn children as there are people living in the house, then they will all fall asleep and he can take everything away from the house. Once he had one candle less and one of the servants was awake.<sup>(43)</sup> The finger of an infant cut out of the mother's womb prevents detection and gives the thief luck in stealing.<sup>(44)</sup>

In this belief we find that the uncensored version of the phantasy appears on the scene as the preliminary to the symbolic version. If the thief can cut the embryo, as representing his own siblings, out of the mother's womb he can also repeat the same deed on the symbolic level, that is, open a house (mother) and take "good body contents" out of the house, representing the siblings. The inmates of the house are the siblings (candle for each). Their sleep is a symbolic death. The burglar himself is invisible, that is, he has replaced the siblings in the womb situation. The candle or rather the body destruction phantasy itself can be extinguished by sweet milk because born of oral frustration it ends with oral pleasure with the "milk of human kindness."

Now there is just one thing more to be added to confirm this interpretation. The reverse of the medal is the belief called "grumus merdae." The thief defecates in the house and as long as the excrements are not desiccated nobody can awaken in the house and they will not be pursued.<sup>(45)</sup> For the "body contents" he has taken, the thief gives his own in exchange.



In European folk-lore there is a group of supernatural beings, the function of which is mainly to steal other people's corn or milk or money and bring it to their owner. In Western Bohemia (Germans, Czechoslovakia) these beings are called dragons and they are the allies of the witch. The dragon sucks the milk out of the cow's udder and takes it through the chimney in the form of cheese or butter to his owner. Sometimes he has taken too much milk and he vomits it on the dung heap.<sup>(46)</sup> In Moravia the same being is called a *Tragerl* a "carrier" and is obtained by keeping the egg of a black hen a fortnight under one's armpit. Then they put the egg under the hen and then the hen lays a gold coin every day.<sup>(47)</sup> The dragon is seen flying in the air with the corn, money or milk he has stolen. The dragon can be compelled to vomit or to defecate all its "body contents" out if one says a magic formula or if one turns toward it and shows the dragon a naked anus.<sup>(48)</sup>

The Letts call this familiar spirit dragon or puhkis. in the shape of a toad it sucks all the milk out of the cow and brings it to its owner.<sup>(49)</sup> A girl shows the puhkis her naked anus she is covered with faeces but she must keep it all because next day it all turns into gold.<sup>(50)</sup> The Wends have the same beliefs and they also say that an unbaptized infant, if left alone in a womb without a prayerbook, becomes a dragon.<sup>(51)</sup> Obviously because the dragon represents the infant's body destruction phantasies. When it is left alone, *i.e.*, frustrated in its desire for the mother it becomes a dragon, that is, a supernatural being that breaks into other people's barns or houses. The Hungarians at Nagy-Szalonta called these beings "spiritus" and obtained them by cutting off into a house he must have as many fingers of unborn children as there are group of beliefs with the burglary superstitions we have been discussing.

It seems therefore that there is a close connection between theft and magic. The witch as "bad mother" represents the talio aspect of the child's body destruction phantasies. The burglar breaks into a house after he has cut the foetus out of its mother's womb and the supernatural beings who steal the neighbour's property and bring it to their owner are the phantasy-children or faeces-children of the male. This phantasy in itself as I have always found in analysis is a defense against the body destruction phantasy; instead of attacking the mother, the boy identifies himself with her.

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## A RORSCHACH STUDY OF A DEFECTIVE DELINQUENT

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The following is taken from a study, made at the suggestion of Dr. Bernard Glueck, of the personality of defective delinquents by means of the Rorschach Test. Its purpose was to discover whether this test would be capable of providing findings which might be of service, in addition to the available clinical material, in picturing the personality of the offender in briefer compass than that of the ordinarily cumbersome case record. It also seemed desirable to see to what extent a Rorschach Test done without any knowledge of the subject except his age and sex would correspond with his life history and the clinical findings in his regard. In this study nothing was known of the subjects nor were they permitted to tell anything of themselves. Nothing did in fact transpire because all reacted, at least outwardly in the rigidly disciplined manner of the "good inmate."

An extended account is given below of the life history of one such delinquent which is followed by the Rorschach findings and their interpretation. It is of course to be understood that this is a sample case only and that definite conclusions must await a more extended survey.

The subject, A.M., was born in 1909 in New York State and comes from a family of artisans, farmers and labourers. With the exception of his paternal grandmother who died of childbirth at the age of 43, his ancestors were all reasonably long-lived. At their marriage his mother was thirty and his father fifty years old. There were seven children born of this marriage two of whom died in infancy and at the age of ten respectively; the subject is the only male child living and the fourth of the siblings. The family history speaks of all of the men of the family as being a disagreeable and even violent temper. While his mother was pregnant with A.M. his father is said to have "kept her mind in an uproar." Birth was normal and non-instrumental, though

prolonged; there were no signs of head injury. During the first six months of his life, A.M. is said to have cried all night. His first teeth came at the age of four, he walked at eleven months, talked at two years and went to school when he was five years old. Enuresis continued until he was eleven.

During his childhood control over him fell to his mother who, when punishment was necessary would mete it out in the form of "a crack on the head." He was punished often, though sometimes capriciously and over severely, and when he was he did not profit by it. Neither his father nor his mother appeared interested either in his progress or his behavior, in fact both preferred his sisters to him. His outstanding characteristic at this time seems to have been his total lack of ambition which differentiated him from other children. Until the age of six he is reported to have whined a good deal and he was very destructive of toys and furniture. Later he was known to tease younger children and animals a great deal but he played well with older children. He was far from truthful and had the reputation of being a petty thief both from his home and from others but there is no evidence of this in his record. When he was thirteen years old his father put him out of the house as he had done with his other children to shift for himself, as he could support him no longer. He did not stay out late at night while living with his family but he did consort "with bad boys and girls." At school he was alert when he wanted to be, but was a disciplinary problem, being stubborn and provoking when asked to do anything. On the other hand when he was given his way, his teacher says that "you could not ask for a better boy."

When he was nine years old he had influenza, and he had chicken pox and measles subsequently. He had broken his arm at the age of twelve and after that was cranky and irritable. He was fifteen when his father died of heart disease.

His delinquencies began at the age of fourteen when he was twice put on probation for petit larceny. He himself states that he was also put on probation for what he calls "tantalizing," which may refer to his treatment of younger children, but there is no official record of this. Upon his third conviction of petty larceny he was sent to a State Industrial School from which he was paroled to his mother after a stay of two years, but was, for reasons unknown to us, returned to the school, his parole being revoked. His record there was poor; he escaped twice and is reported to have been a disciplinary problem. His intel-



ligence rating according to the Binet-Stanford Test when he was 15 years and 4 months old was: M.A. 11.5, I.Q. 74. Released from this school because of his age, he returned to his family and lived with his married sisters. He was at this time "a regular bum" of filthy habits and a filthy tongue who consorted with evil companions and was utterly unreliable, so that his sisters, who had growing children, had to be rid of him. He had probably been threatened with commitment as a defective for, after his tonsils and adenoids had been removed he told his family that unless another, and major, operation were performed upon him, a bone in his mouth would grow and pressing on his brain make him a defective. This story reappears at intervals in his later life; at this time it no doubt served as an excuse for what he felt threatened him in the future. After a short period of freedom he passed a small check on a bank in which he had no funds and was committed to an institution for defective delinquents, to serve an indefinite term.

His life had so far been lived on a low level both socially and so far as subsistence was concerned, his parents had shown their indifference to him and he had been thrown at an early age upon his own poor resources. He suffered from no physical disability, but his mentality, officially diagnosed as that of a high grade moron, made it difficult for him to get on. No doubt his poor environment contributed to the moulding of a naturally unstable person into one which became definitely anti-social.

Upon his arrival at the Institution he was given a thorough examination which showed no defects either physical or neurological. His M.A. at that time was 10.8 with an I.Q. of 67. His psychiatric diagnoses was that he was feeble-minded and egocentric and that a hereditary predisposition to defectiveness had been made more severe by maladjustment at home. Very soon after his commitment, A.M. began the series of complicated and fantastic lies regarding his identity by which he tried to interest strangers in him. If they served to exalt his ego and to bring him some immediate practical benefit, they also enabled him to cause a great deal of trouble to the authorities and to others. They are characteristic of his personality in this also, that they exhibit a callous indifference to others and that many of them have not even a reasonable probability in their favor; they were woven of such thin tissue that they were bound to fail. One of his sisters had never failed him and had been kind and patient with him however sorely he had tried her, yet, while denying his identity and thereby his relation to her,

he never ceased to assure her in tearful letters of his affection for her nor to beg her for such articles as he might lawfully receive. He began by asserting that he was not A.M. at all but that he had borrowed this name from a friend who had no criminal record with that friend's consent. He must have known C.F. who had disappeared from home and whose mother was searching frantically for him for he wrote her telling her that he was her long lost son. At the same time he wrote the Superintendent of the institution in which he was confined that he would "tell all" if certain conditions were complied with and haste were made, threatening otherwise to tell nothing "even if he were kept a thousand years" and being willing to tell all only because he was "in a good mode." This story was circumstantial enough to be believed for a brief time but on investigation it was of course proved to be without any merit or truth. Unfortunately he must have seen an account in some tabloid newspaper, where it was featured, of the finding by the police of a neighboring state of the body of a man hanging from a tree, which they could not identify. This was grist in his mill, for it gave him an opportunity to revenge himself upon the family of C.F. who naturally would have nothing to do with him. He wrote the brother of C.F. that the body was that of his brother and that "he was hung by the gang." This letter was intercepted, and when A.M. was asked to state what he knew he offered "to tell all," ending his offer with the postscript: "his brother will follow him. Take this advice from the liar. I leave this up to you for I don't care a snap of my finger." This is his attitude whenever his lies have caught up with him. It does not seem to have occurred to him that he was destroying the last hope of innocent people nor did he consider that his lies lessened his chance for parole. Two other attempts to establish a false identity were short-lived because of the wariness of the persons addressed.

By the end of the year all of his attempts to do away with himself as A.M. had failed and he turned to something more dramatic. One day he was absent from his assigned place of work and was found loafing around the guard-room floor, for which he was placed in a cell. An hour later a guard heard a commotion and found that A.M. having made a noose of his shirt had turned his bedstead up and had tried to hang himself from it. Of course it fell over, the noise brought the guard running and the would-be suicide was quickly revived by three buckets of water. This is at least what he tells in an autobiography written later and tells with evident satisfaction and pride. The attempt cannot

have been very seriously meant, but even if it was made only to attract attention to himself and to inspire pity, it still remains the act of a depressed and seriously unbalanced person. The notoriety which it must have given him among his fellow inmates may have comforted him for a time but evidently not for long because shortly afterwards he attempted once more to escape from A.M. whose life was so thoroughly unsatisfactory to him. This time there was no obvious material gain in view; it was a change of identity pure and simple. This time there was no such person as he for he had been killed in early childhood and another child had been substituted for him. The story as he tells it to his sister is as follows: When he was an infant his father carried him with him when he went to pick berries in company with some other woman who also had her infant with her. While his father was carrying him he was stung by a bee, ran, stumbled and dropped the child who was instantly killed. The father then changed the clothes of his dead child for those of the woman's and substituted the corpse for the living child. (What the woman did and how she failed to discover this substitution A.M. does not tell.) He never knew this until he was told by his father shortly before his death but he suspected that his mother knew for she had never once visited him nor written him in all the years he was confined. This story forms part of an autobiography which he wrote at a later time when he was 22 years old. It is over three thousand words long and cannot be quoted here in full but certain passages as well as its general tenor are significant for the character of its author. They are quoted here in the spelling of the original: "Suicide is a hard and repellent word," it begins, "Yet at times it will be welcome as an escape of all the hardship and loneliness of my ill life. For six years I have been the loneliest of all hearts and the humiliation and shame of it all is to think of women and children staring at me and then avert their faces the opposite way and pass by me with a look that farley shames one and cuts to the quick. I am only twenty three years old and am quite good looking, life has always been bad to me. of course I have had my ups and downs. life was not so bad for me when I was working in the prison mess hall. Yess I am a convict which in my Narrating Story I will tell you about before I am finished. I was always dark and in sullenness when I worked in the prison mess hall, I would do my work and seldom say a word unless I was spoken to. I did this as an armour to conceal my sensitiveness." He then continues with the tale of his poor and sad childhood and speaks of the event which led to his

being considered a thief. When he was nine years old his father told him to bring some old boards out of a dilapidated fence around a nearby cemetery for firewood, which was scarce; he was seen by the neighbors who called him a thief and this drove him from home. Later he tells how he robbed his employer's cash register when his father had taken all his small earnings from him under threat of violence. "I saw the cash register open at the sight of all the money I saw my poorly dressed sisters and mother in better clothes so I took it." His escape from the industrial school was due to equally good if not honorable motives because when his father wrote him that he had worse heart trouble than ever and to run away and come to him what could he do? It is at this point that he tells the story of his substitution for the dead child and his father's confession of this mischance. Working once more in a large town he boarded with people who were destitute and hungry and as his own funds were exhausted he stole to feed them. He adds "Thank God I always stold from the rich and gave to the poor. There were several families I did the same with. One Christmas there were twenty children I gave clothes and shoes to all the poor and gave them a happy Christmas dinner. And there was poor A.H. a poor dear woman an out-cast from the town because of her misdeeds she had done when she was destitute." He nursed her when she was dying and she proposed to call the Chief of Police to tell him that he had never stolen except to give to the poor but unfortunately she died in his arms before she could carry out her purpose. Subsequently A. M. asserts that he was an Assistant Federal Agent for some time but because of his record could not make his way. Misfortune dogged him; he found a pocket book and put it in his pocket and was seen doing so but was not punished for this. His passing of bad checks was merely a matter of a misunderstanding, because his partner (he does not say in what business) failed to deposit money due him in his account and kept it fraudulently from him. The Court was however adamant to this plea and he was committed to an institution. The autobiography ends "May all of you fathers and mothers read this and never put your child in an orphan asylum unless you keep in touch with him so they may never know the sorrows I have been through. A man without a name."

Fantastic as this story is when examined in the light of known facts, it does not lack a certain dramatic intensity of style; it is interesting also for his romantic identification of himself with the character of Robin Hood and for the sanctimoniousness which plays no small

role in the writer's life. It is evidence of his frequent depressions, of his self pity and of his tenacious clinging to the most unlikely and contradictory stories.

Two years later A. M. was finally paroled to the custody of his mother who had married again. He was to work on his step-father's farm for his keep and a small wage. The reputation of the family was certainly not of the best in some measure because his mother had married her brother-in-law who was very much younger than she. He had not been free very long when his mother wrote to the authorities to the effect that her son had threatened the life of her husband and that he had crazy spells. This time A. M. seems to have been unjustly accused for he admitted the threat but stated that it was in self defense because he had objected to the language his step-father was using in front of this thirteen-year-old half-sister and had been threatened by him. It is not impossible that his family took the easy way of ridding themselves of an uncomfortable witness to their none too orderly lives by simply having him sent back to the institution as a parole violator. It is certain that upon investigation his parole was not revoked but another job was found for him. Here he failed because of laziness and a third trial was made which was equally unsuccessful because he would not work, got into a fight, as he does periodically, and had to be returned to his institution.

It was not long after his return that he again satisfied his craving for notoriety by accusing himself of the murder of a young girl, an accusation which it is needless to say was easily disproved. Nothing further in the way of dramatics was attempted by him for some time until in 1935 he tried to escape while at work outside the walls, a privilege for which he had long begged. He was caught the same day and returned. He gave several reasons for this at least foolish step, one being that it was because of a girl whom he offered to marry should she be with child, another that he ran away because he had been refused the operation on his nose which was to free him from the threat of defectiveness and wanted to get it done outside. Incidentally he tells two stories of how this bone came to be injured, one that it happened in an automobile accident, another that he had been hit over the head by his last employer with a pitchfork while on parole.

When he was twenty-eight he was transferred to another institution where he was stabilized somewhat and has engaged in no further dramatic episodes. As always he still is busy trying to be released on



writs of habeas corpus all of which have failed but all of which meant endless trouble for the State. He still writes or wants to write to the Governor and the penal authorities and he is considered a litigious prisoner. His frequent applications for parole have so far been unsuccessful because every psychiatric report designates him as a defective with no prognosis which would warrant his return to independent life in the community. He is, as he has always been, a frequent visitor at the hospital complaining of such vague ailments as dizziness, headache or seeing double or exhibiting very minor ailments. In one instance he told a circumstantial story of how he had ruptured himself while at work; needless to say no hernia was found on examination. At various times his visits have become so frequent that disciplinary action became necessary.

His conduct has been such as to subject him to frequent punishment not only for his attempts to escape but also for assaulting other inmates, for disobedience and significantly for making false statements regarding officers. These offenses have entailed a considerable "loss of time" for him.

In presenting the life history of this unfortunate, if exasperating youth, we are necessarily confronted with the question as to what measures can be taken to avoid such human wreckage; we can only hope that increasing knowledge may bring with it the possibility of lightening the burden which such persons as A. M. are both to themselves and to Society. His case forcibly brings to our minds the prophetic lines of Pope:

"Yet to be just to these poor men of pelf

Each does but hate his neighbor as himself

Who suffers thus, mere Charity should own

Must act on motives powerful though unknown."

# THE RORSCHACH RECORD

## CARD I. 2'

1. Body of a man	D	F+	H	
2. Islands	S	F+	Geo.	
3. Hands, raised	D	F+	Hd	Mt
4. Butterfly	W	F+	A	P
5. Shapes of clouds	W	COF	clouds	
Different angles show where color black can be reduced to terms where color can be reduced				

## CARD II. 2'

1. Butterfly	W	F+	A	
2. Electric light (white space) this gives colour effects I should say	S	C'F	Obj	(Color infl)
3. Face cut out of a rock as they do in a mountain (upper outside edge of black)	D	F+	Art	
4. < Rock with angles (white space)	S	F-	rock	O-

## CARD III 4'

1. Cartoon like Mickey Mouse but it does not represent it of course	W	F+	Cartoon	
2. Two men pulling something from a basket	W	M	H	P
3. Something like a parrot (lateral red)	D	F+	A	
4. Butterfly (Enq. form only)	D	F+	A	P
5. < Dog (lateral red)	D	F+	A	
6. > Dirty snow on a bluff	DW	C'F	nature	O-
7. Light shining on water	DW	F(C)	Light	O-
8. < Fish, I was going to say shark ("legs")	D	F+	A	
9. < Eagle on a branch, sitting	D	F+	A	Mt O+
10. > Two hawks winging their way (9 and 10 middle parts of men from neck to arm, including chest)	D	F+	A	Mt O+

## CARD IV. 2'

1. Animal in ages past ("oxhead")	D	F-	A	
2. The whole is a bat	W	F-	A	
3. < A pool of stagnant water	W	CO	water	O-

## CARD V. 2'

1. - - - Elf as you see in Fairyland	W	F+	Myth.	
2. > Mammoth Bat	W	F+	A	P
3. > Man with Derby hat (dark black below top "feelers")	D	F+	H	
4. Face (upper lateral edge)	D	F+	Hd	

## CARD VI. 4'

1. Old fashioned bed-post (center line)	D	F +	obj	
2. Bearskin	W	F(C)	Ad	P
3. Map of Florida (lower lateral projection)	D	F-	Geo	
4. * Bug, a beetle from an orange tree	W	F-	A	
5. ----- a canal through land	D	F(C)	canal	
6. Horned toad (upper detail)	D	F-	A	
7. < Rocks on ocean shore (edge of upper half)	D	F(C)	rocks	
8. ✓ Looking through a Canyon. (center and middle part)	D	F(C)	landsc.	persp.

## CARD VII 2'

1. Thousand Islands surrounded by water	W(s)	F-	landsc.	
2. Clouds forming snow	W	COF	clouds	
3. Freshet running through rock (center of lower detail)	D	F(C)	landsc.	
4. ✓ Face out of comics, --- the same face on the other side. (middle thirds)	D	F +	Hd	P
5. Water boiling over cliff (lower middle gray immediately above "clasp" on both sides)	Dr	F(C)	landsc.	Mt O +
6. People on pinnacles (small detail on top of lower section)	Dr	F-	scene	O -

## CARD VIII 2'

1. Timber wolves	D	F +	A	P
2. ✓ Butterfly (orange and pink form only)	D	F +	A	
3. ----- Color effects of rocks and shadows	W	CF	rocks	
4. Frozen water (space between blue and gray)	S	C'	water	O-
5. < Head like they have on the Pyramids (top lateral detail in orange)	Dr	F +	Art	
6. Ribs and spine of an animal that lay down and froze	D	FC'	Anat	
7. Heads of monsters (pink)	D	F +	monsters	
8. Mineral rock (orange)	D	CF	rock	

## CARD IX. 5'

1. Spinal column of a man (center)	D	F +	Anat	
2. Head of a man (edge of pink facing outward)	D	F-	H	
3. Butterfly	W	CF	A	
4. Bay leading into ocean, you might say Bay of Biscay (space between orange)	S	F +	geo.	
5. Rocks jutting out (orange)	D	F-	rocks	
6. < Man with tongue out (pink)	D	F +	Hd	
7. Four rocks piled on top of each other (pink)	D	F +	rocks	
8. Lowlands seen from distance (green)	D	CF	geo	persp.
9. Elks heads (in green)	D	F +	Ad	

## CARD X. 4'

1. Whole bunch of spiders and crabs
2. Inside of a man opened showing lungs  
(Enq. red color)
3. Spinal column and collarbone (grey)
4. Mountain sheep (lowest green)
5. Flowers (central yellow, Enq. color  
chiefly)

DW	F-	A	D:P
D	CF	Anat	
D	F	Anat	
D	F-	A	
D	CF	plant	

W	14	F	41 (12 -)
W(s)	1	F(C)	7
DW	3	FC'	1
D	36	CF	6
Dr	3	CO	1
S	5	COF	2
		C'	1
	62	C'F	2
		M	1 (4Mt)
			62

Total Responses : 62 : 22

F	77 %
A	32 %
P	13 %
O	14.5 %

Mental Approach:	W - D - S
Experience Balance:	1M : 6 C
Succession:	loose

Total Time: 29'

Average time per response: 28.5"

Average time per response (VIII-X) 30 "

H	3	P	8
Hd	5	O	9 (6-)
A	18		
Ad	2		
Anat	4		
Obj.	2		
Geo.	4		
Landsc.	4		
Rocks	6		
Nature	1		
Clouds	2		
Light	1		
Water	2		
Canal	1		
Myth.	1		
Cartoon	1		
Art	2		
Scene	1		
Monster	1		
Plant	1		
	62		

## EXPLANATION OF RORSCHACH SYMBOLS

The following symbols are used in scoring (Rorschach's symbols are always added in brackets):

W equals Whole (G), D equals Detail (D), Dr equals rare detail (Db), S equals space (DzW), W(s) equals whole including white space, D W equals whole based on a detail, "confabulation" (DG).

F+ equals sharply seen form (F+), F- equals indistinctly seen form

(F-), M equals movement of a human or human like being (B), Mt equals movement tendency (other movements), FC equals form-color (FFb), CF equals color-form (FbF), F (C) equals shading seen in different nuances or as texture, CO equals chiaroscuro (Binder's Hd), COF equals chiaroscuro-form (Binder's HdF, C' equals black, grey, or white seen as color except when either F(C) or CO, FC' and CF corresponding to FC and CF.

A equals animal (T), Ad equals detail of an animal (Td), H equals human being (M), Hd equals detail of human being (Md), Anat equals anatomical, Obj equals lifeless object, Geo equals geography.

P equals popular (V), O equals original (O), persp. equals seen in perspective.

$\wedge, \vee, <, >$  before an interpretation indicates the position in which subject held the plate, the point of the angle always indicating the top of the plate.

#### RORSCHACH - ANALYSIS A.M. (MALE, 30 YEARS)

At the basis of A. M.'s conflicting and problematic personality-structure is a deep and strong insecurity (CO, F(C), perspective).<sup>(1)</sup> He finds no hold in himself (only one M) and he experiences the outside world as a dangerous, unsafe place which not only offers no security to him but in which he is unable to find a place for himself.<sup>(2)</sup> He feels that he is neglected, not sufficiently recognized, that nobody takes care of him and that nobody pays the attention due to him. This feeling is all the more disturbing for him because he is deeply convinced that he has a better right than most persons to be appreciated, to be taken care of and to be treated well without great efforts on his

<sup>(1)</sup>The references to certain features of the Rorschach "psychogram" and the Rorschach-record given in brackets throughout the personality description are not intended to be anything like a complete and explicit deduction of the Rorschach-analysis from the record. As in most cases, only the complexity of all single symptoms combined with the step-by-step analysis of the subject's reactions to every single plate and of the sequence of various kinds of reactions throughout the test furnish the basis for the picture of the personality finally arrived at. The references are meant merely as hints for those familiar with the technique of Rorschach interpretations to certain characteristics of the record. The present publication would not be the suitable place to discuss in detail technicalities of Rorschach-interpretation.

<sup>(2)</sup>The frequent perception of "rocks" and "islands" often surrounded either by darkness (12, II 4) or by water threatening to engulf the rock or the island (especially in VII 5, 6, but also in IX 4, 5, VII 1, etc.) point to this special form of insecurity feeling).



part ("Erlebnis"-type in conjunction with amount and quality of W and his "grandiose" way of expressing what he sees and what he invents). His insecurity is partly unconscious, but partly it becomes manifest and conscious in various ways: He has feelings of vague anxiety at times, he is affected by mood wavering between depression and rage (CF vs. CO and F (C) ), he feels isolated and cold at times, left alone and abandoned by everybody (the "rock" associations and some of the C' interpretations), he tends to work himself deeper and deeper into some mood, exaggerating it in a hysterical way, and he is given to brooding at times (see especially plate I, IV, VI). Out of this great amount of insecurity and anxiety he has developed several trends and mechanisms which partly are an outgrowth from, partly a defense against, the insecurity and anxiety.

Most pronounced among these trends is a strongly narcissistic attitude. He has an inordinate craving for the attention of others, for increase of his status, for admiration, *etc.* He is constantly concerned about the effect which he is going to produce on others, and he has lost nearly every sense of proportion regarding the ideas which he has about the place that should be accorded to him regarding his significance as well as regarding the means by which he tries to achieve his effects. Exaggeration, swaggering, lying, inventing whole stories, mixing up truth with phantasy, all such techniques serve, consciously as well as unconsciously, the purpose of gaining more status, obtaining more attention from others. (DW, EF. "Erlebnis"-type, exaggerated way of expression). As his expectations concerning an increased ego, a heightened status necessarily are disappointed constantly by a contrasting reality he is driven into still stronger feelings of frustration, of being neglected, of not being recognized and appreciated. One might assume, perhaps, that in his early childhood the feelings of being neglected, of not being wanted, not being loved has originated on some more or less justified basis connected with his relations to his parents, and that later on he developed all the described techniques in order to get what he felt was withheld from him. At present these techniques and efforts for procuring the missing attention and admiration strengthen, in their turn, the feeling of not getting the craved attention because the emphasis on the aim pursued makes the disappointment of the frustration only keener, and this disappointment often drives him into depressive moods and emotional outbursts (CO, F(C), C', CF).

Closely related to the narcissistic drive for more attention, better "publicity," *etc.*, is a basically oral-receptive attitude. A. M. is not a man to make great efforts, to work methodically and persistently (DW and loose succession). In fact, he unconsciously expects that everything should come to him without his having to do much about it. He is rather inclined to cling to others whom he expects to provide safety and support for him. If he makes any efforts at all they are not directed toward some productive work (scarcity of M, DW, F+%, flightiness), but belong to the described attempts to impress other people with his significance, his importance, his worthiness, his suffering, *etc.* He is entirely egocentric (prevalence of CF). Without regard for others he is only interested in getting, receiving the things which he did not get, perhaps, in childhood and which he now believes to deserve without undergoing too much effort on his own part.

Pronounced masochistic tendencies are another mechanism which, at least to a great extent, aim at getting more sympathy, attention, and affection. It has been mentioned already how he tends to work himself deeper and deeper into some mood, a feeling of depression or frustration, for instance. This indulgence in his own feelings, together with his tendency to exaggerate, to impress others, to play to the public, is intended to arouse the sympathy or at least the attention of others. It would be wrong, however, to think that this (and the other described devices for getting attention) is always an intentional, purposeful acting. Just as he is able, at times, to believe in his own lies, he actually feels and experiences all the inner states of mind into which he works himself (F(C) and CO sequences). It is a hysterical ("Erlebnis"-type) and self-suggestive process by which he manages to be, in the moment, almost as convinced of the genuineness of his words, feelings, *etc.* as he would like the other fellow to be convinced. This, of course, is not always the case. He can lie and act also quite deliberately, but usually there is a measure of self-deception in his performances. His suffering, for instance, though exaggerated, is to a great extent also genuine. Even if he tends to display and to exaggerate it for a more effective display he also gets himself deeper and deeper into it.

So far the pattern of A. M.'s personality has, in accordance with his narcissistic structure, very much of the infantile in it. He expects to be taken care of and cries and makes himself a nuisance if he is not taken care of. But apart from, and above this infantile stage he has developed a very strong defiance (S in conjunction with extroversive

"Erlebnis"-type). As he is basically so insecure and as - in addition to this - he has the described passive-receptive attitude he is not free to assert himself by positive activity and by spontaneous reaching out toward other persons. Instead he tries to assert himself by defiant opposition in a negative way. If he cannot or will not struggle and work for some positive achievement, for some place in life, he is going to show others at least that he is somebody, that he does not just do what is expected of him.

A. M. is driven by the described tendencies and is not in a position to control them. He cannot master his wavering moods, his fears, and his craving for attention. They have a hold over him and he is too weak, has too little substance to be able to resist them. His insecurity is increased by the fear of his own emotions and his sexual drives (see especially reaction to plate II, IV, VI, VII, VIII, IX). This fear sometimes produces an anxious caution (reversed succession in I, IV, VI), at other times it embroils him more and more in the just prevailing mood, making him feel that he cannot help it, that he has to give way, that he is overflooded by his impulses. Thus, he is passively torn by his own emotions, sometimes indulging in them, sometimes fearing them and trying to escape, sometimes purposely exaggerating them, scarcely ever able to master them, and often driven by them into periods of rather severe depression.

A few words seem indicated to describe A. M.'s rather peculiar mental equipment which is closely related to the structure of his personality. When judged by his ability to solve mental tasks requiring a certain amount of methodical and steady effort and thoroughness (as, for instance, most intelligence tests, especially the Binet, do), he would probably make a poor showing (loose succession, low F+, superficial quality of the majority of his W). It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that he is feeble-minded or mentally dull. In a way, he could be called quite intelligent. His inability to tackle methodically, steadfastly any task, mental or otherwise, comes in the last analysis from his oral-narcissistic attitude and not from an innate lack of intellectual organization. This attitude is chiefly responsible for his superficiality of effort, his flightiness, his lack of accuracy and concentration, and his laziness. His mind is as undisciplined and uncontrolled as his emotionality. He jumps to conclusions on the basis of a mere impression (DW, W CF, W CO), of a vague and superficial acquaintance. This mental technique makes it probably possible for

him to impress others so long as they get only superficially acquainted with him. He has a certain amount of artistic sensitiveness, he is quick in snatching up something of the atmosphere, the general impression of a thing, and being in addition highly verbalistic he can produce a show which may seem quite brilliant at first sight although it crumbles down to nothing when examined more closely (F(C), CO, C', Some of the CF, phrasing of association in contrast to quality of perception). His intelligence is thus well-fitted for one purpose: namely creating an effect, making an impression, drawing attention to him. It is a tool developed chiefly in the service of his narcissistic drive for attention and recognition, and it may succeed in this function for short periods and with not over-critical or sharp-eyed persons. Beyond this purpose the stimulus to train and develop his intellect seems to have been lacking

A. M. is a border-line case between the psychopath and the severe neurotic. It can be predicted with the greatest probability that in his present state of mind he will not be able to adapt himself in a positive way to society. Even under supervision he will remain a constant problem and will get himself into constant difficulties. There is very little hope for re-education or improvement (Too great excess of CF, too many S, too few M).

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion it will be interesting to compare the personality of the subject as it appears in the Rorschach findings with the data furnished by his life history. The narcissism which drives him to play an important role at all costs is everywhere apparent; it lies at the base of his attempts to establish false identities, of his self accusation of the murder of a young girl, of the picture he draws of himself as the benefactor of the poor, a thief from motives of philanthropy; in all his phantastic fabrications. Its high point is his attempted suicide and the childish pride he takes in the fact that it took three buckets of water to revive him, but this attempt is also proof of his strong masochistic trends, for however much it may have been "staged" it remains the act of a profoundly depressed and lonely person. Behind it lies the sense of isolation which his Rorschach report discovers, the ego-centric self pity which is the keynote of his own view of himself as expressed in his autobiography. Strongly labile we see him alternately swaggering (when he is "in a good mode") and cringing (when his lies have been

discovered); we also see him beg for release or parole and compulsively doing the very things which will prevent their being granted. His history at school, at the institutions in which he was confined and on parole show that he will not work, yet in accordance with his oral character he wants everything that is not attainable to him and is a constant beggar for favors from his family and from those he shamelessly deceives by his pretensions to be their long lost son. Completely egocentric he never considers the consequences of his lies to others; his only interest is the service of his immediate purposes. Every occasion of his life shows that he can not adjust himself to the social needs of the community and that by nature and by habit he is anti-social.

A word must be said regarding his intelligence. It is not surprising that it should not show up to advantage in the usual intelligence tests because these, in setting a formal task, demand the very thing which our subject can not master. His intelligence is vague, without structure or method and wholly untrained but it is not inferior provided it is called upon to function only impressionistically. We can not deny him imagination because his very fabrications are not done without artistry and are effective up to a certain point, and in spite of its cheap pathos his autobiography strikes a personal and not unoriginal note. Though he never did well at school or in any formally set task because of his laziness and his emotional difficulties he was never reported as dull and the Rorschach findings bear this out. This is not to say that his intelligence is only a kind which could serve him or society; on the contrary it is the tool only of his antisocial and pathological trends and, insofar as it reaches out beyond his phantastic inner world it is a menace to him and to others, but it is not inferior.

The purpose of this study as stated at the beginning was in part to discover whether the Rorschach Test could present an adequate picture of a personality as a whole including its unconscious motivations and present it in a briefer form than that of a clinical report with its necessarily scattered information. We must leave it to the reader to judge whether we have succeeded in this. The question then remains whether it can provide some guidance to the institutional treatment of a delinquent defective. In the present case the suggestion lies near that it might be worth while to try to provide A. M. within the limits of the possible offered by an institution with some chance to sublimate his narcissism, to give him some occupation which would satisfy his craving for self-importance and to turn his phantasies into some factual



accomplishment. It might be possible to make his imagination and his small but existing fund of creativeness of use to him and the institution. We doubt that he could ever be made a useful member of society or to be trusted at large in the outside world but such a program would at least ease his own burden and by reducing his anti-social traits enable him to adjust himself to the life of an institution with benefit to himself as well as to it.

## INVESTIGATION METHODS IN CLINICAL CRIMINOLOGY\*

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In many previous articles which have been published in the Argentine, Chile, Italy, the United States, and elsewhere, (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), it has been the writer's privilege to point out to psychiatrists and others who are actively engaged in the control of crime, the place that clinical procedure has in reducing crime and controlling that major social problem. The actual method of psychiatric diagnosis and treatment of crime is different from those in use in dealing with mental disease, although they have many features in common.

With the idea of individualization of criminals developed by so many investigators since the turn of the century, the same type of thinking has been invoked that has been a part of the medical armamentarium for centuries, that is, an attempt to find out what is the cause of the disorder and then devising a treatment which will either palliate the symptoms or will actually remove its cause. In order to do this, clinics have been set up in many countries, I think perhaps to a greater extent in the New World than in the Old.

Among these clinics the Psychopathic Clinic of the Recorder's Court has a unique place. In 1920 it was established as adjunct to a new type of criminal court which still remains unique in the United States and perhaps in other countries. Because of the fact that there was a good deal of criticism against the courts which had to do with both the misdemeanors and the major crimes committed in the city of Detroit, the whole set-up was completely reorganized in 1919 with the idea in mind of *treating* offenders.

Before this reorganization occurred, there had already been established in the court such a thing as a probation department, having to do particularly with keeping as many individuals in the community in as harmless a fashion as possible, and the basis of this probation treatment, as it may be called, was a thorough investigation of the man's

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\* Studies from the Psychopathic Clinic - Series C - 16.

work record, his home adjustment to parents, to brothers and sisters, the family history having to do with others in the family who might have been convicted of crimes, and similar objective material which was not taken primarily from the man himself but from court records and investigations of the home.

It is true, of course, that in many cases it was not necessary to go beyond the man's answers to a series of routine questions about his past life. However, it was soon found that a number of mistakes were made. First, probation was given largely to individuals who had no formal crime record. This did not mean that they had not been previously arrested for serious crimes and brought to the juvenile court, but the juvenile courts in the United States do not keep criminal records, although they have their own records. These are available to careful investigators, but the children are not as a rule finger-printed, so that even though a boy under the age of seventeen might have committed a number of serious offenses, these were not of importance in deciding whether he should be allowed to remain at large in the community. It was soon found that this method of making a long section study of the individual's life, that is, studying his past life from the beginning until the time of arrest was not entirely adequate. From the studies made by Shaw and others in Chicago, it was soon ascertained that many individuals were criminals because of their environments, not because of their personalities. This would tend to cause a grave error of justice in that a lot of curable individuals would be refused probation because their crime records had been bad, whereas it was only their associates and not their intrinsic make-up that was responsible for their having gotten into previous difficulty.

In order to correct this error it was necessary to study the criminal clinically rather than sociologically alone. Clinics had never been developed to any extent before the existence of ours in the Psychopathic Clinic of the Recorder's Court. In 1921, two years after the law was passed creating this clinic, it began to function, but its functioning was pulled out of thin air because juvenile court clinics which had been in existence for several years previous and because the individual psychiatrist who had acted as advisor to courts in various cities before the establishment of our clinic had developed certain procedures, so that there was a tendency to follow these. The simple investigation at the time of creation of the Clinic was merely to take the probation report or, in those cases where the clinic study had preceded that of the pro-

bation department, to parallel this material, that is, get an account of the man's past life and something of his family history. In addition to that, he was given a psychological test of a conventional nature and was cursorily looked over by a psychiatrist to find out whether he had signs of a serious mental disease. At the beginning of the functioning of the clinic, this was entirely adequate. Nobody knew much about the amount of feeble-mindedness in the community as a whole and among criminals, some theoretical folks had felt that there were more feeble-minded and insane criminals than it turned out that there actually were.

But since ignorance of criminology was so abysmal, the function of the clinic to detect the actually insane and the feeble-minded was a highly adequate one at the beginning. If it had attempted to develop highly developed diagnostic procedures at that time, it would have found itself in deep waters. Judges were not convinced that the clinic had anything else to offer other than the segregation of what seemed to them to be an innumerable group of insane and feeble-minded. With the development of mental hygiene throughout the United States and the research which was done on the juvenile offenders, and with the creation of clinics in the prisons, it was possible to develop new techniques which I feel at the present time enable us to understand fairly completely the nature of each individual offender.

In 1935, when the writer published a book entitled "Diagnostic Criminology"<sup>(7)</sup> in which he pointed out that there were certain procedures that could be used in investigating the individual offender, clinical procedures had not even then reached nearly the place that they have at the present time. In the case of the adult offender then, we were beginning to realize that there were certain problem types of individuals and the American criminologist extended his procedures upward to cover not only the psychotic and the hypophrenotic group, but also the neurotic and the psychopathic individual. There had been little projection into the fields of psychology and sociology as sciences, and even psychiatry from the standpoint of the dynamic systems begun by Freud, Adler, and Jung, did not seem to have a very important place in the study of the criminal. One reason for this, in our clinic as in many others in the United States, was that with increasing dependence upon the clinic and increasing appreciation of its value, judges have tended to send more and more cases, thus cutting down the amount of time which could be allotted to each individual. Short cuts often have been devised, but rather than short cuts in many places, and I think

that this is particularly true in New York and Chicago, the examination itself has been abbreviated to some detriment to the science of diagnostic criminology as a whole.

Since 1935 many new techniques have been devised with the idea in mind of making almost mathematically precise a technique for deciding what cases will be reformed by placing them back in the community with some supervision and help and deciding what cases must be segregated. The foundation for this lies in the work of Vold,<sup>(8)(9)(10)</sup> the thorough study of Bruce, Burgess, and Harno,<sup>(11)</sup> and the more recent investigations of Ferris Laune.<sup>(12)</sup> These investigators, with some others, among whom must not be neglected the Gluecks,<sup>(13)</sup> have devised methods by which tables could be set up for the actuary to predict success or failure on parole.

The first table which was set up by us would be for the untreated individual, that is, if the court were merely to say, "Case dismissed, defendant discharged," and turned an offender back into the community the rate of recidivism would of necessity increase. But, if in addition to this, the judge were to give the prisoner a lecture, certain individuals would be favorably modified, and if, still in addition, the offender were actually to be kept under treatment by a psychiatrist or by other members of the clinic or by a probation department, his likelihood for adjustment would be higher.

Still American and other prisons at the present time, not having particularly scientific ideas on the subject, are turning out what seems subjectively to parole boards who are not trained criminologists as a rule, those cases who are likely not to get into further trouble. Of such groups in enlightened states such as Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, 85% of offenders turned back into the community do not in a period of five years get in trouble, in some instances.

There are some factors that make for good probation and parole risks, that is, make individuals who have committed a crime safer in the community after they have either been convicted or discharged with a certain amount of treatment or have been penalized. Some of these factors are: (1) Marriage. The married individual with a successful home life is likely not to get into much more trouble. (2) High intelligence is a favorable factor. (3) First crimes committed late in life is a very highly favorable factor. So we could go on for a matter of some twenty-six factors which have now been decided on to be of importance.



In order to evaluate these traits, new procedures have been evolved. We know that more important than the actual history of the individual's marriage is his attitude toward sex. Clinics, I am sure, would be very glad to develop a technique of psychoanalysis which could be carried out in the brief time which elapses between conviction and sentence, but I feel that this is impossible. With criminals, as the writer has pointed out in references mentioned above, <sup>(5)</sup> active cooperation is not yet easily obtained.

To the criminal, the psychiatrist or the investigator, even though he may indirectly have the man's good at heart, remains an officer of the law and one who has in mind punishment. For this reason indirect techniques must be developed and for the last three years the Psychopathic Clinic of the Recorder's Court has been devoting much time to standardizing these procedures.

Even before that time a very essential technique has been developed by members of our clinic; namely the obtaining of an autobiography from those individuals who are literate and even partially cooperative.<sup>(14)</sup> Although the whole story may not be forthcoming, the omissions which are determined by comparing the history at hand from other sources, such as the crime record from Washington and any social agency records in the community, are very revealing. Positive material which is given is often indicative of complex material, particularly errors of recapitulation, rejection of certain individuals, so that a combination of what does come out and what is censored is often indicative of severe complex material that is in existence in the individual's mind. By some autobiographies also, we are able to diagnose the amount of literacy and schooling that a person has. For instance, the country is so large and school systems are so diversified that school grade achievement means nothing when expressed in a matter of years of education and I might add that those who have come from foreign countries are even less reliable, for when a man says he has had four years of schooling in Hungarian schools, we do not know if that compares with four years of schooling in American schools.

The autobiography also gives us an idea of how intelligent the individual is, his means of expressions, the ideas that he has, the details that he goes into are all significant and in a sex case he often gives us the root of the difficulty by telling his first sexual experience; how he felt in undergoing it and complex material is apparent which is the result of such early sexual trauma.

This type of study cannot be made very useful without using the procedures which I enumerated above but still remain the basic functions of our clinic, namely the intelligence test, the long picture of the individual's life through a history, and the psychiatric examination.

When Herman Rorschach developed his psycho-diagnostic method, its application to criminology was not easily seen and to many individuals a grave question has been raised as to the validity of results of the Rorschach test. In South America it is used extensively and I think perhaps Dr. Endara<sup>(15)</sup> is the authority on the subject. Its use without standardization seems to be somewhat doubtful. Just what movement, what color responses, what imaginative and personal reactions seem to mean in both the criminal and the non-criminal has been highly worked out by certain American investigators and by a few Europeans. But in the clinic we find that the combination of the Rorschach stimulus cards with other psychophysiological apparatus is resultant in quite satisfying conclusions.

The polygraph or "lie detector" which was developed by Larson<sup>(16)</sup> in the early 1920's is a simple modification of that apparatus which was basically devised by Marey and brought to diagnostic acme by Sir James Mac Kenzie. Its use in diagnosing heart disease, however, while inestimable, in the long run will be of minor consideration when one takes into account what its records reveal in diagnosing personality. The machine essentially is merely a graphic recorder of blood pressure, pulse rate, and respiration. Its theory lies upon the fact that when complex material comes to the fore, there are changes in these bodily functions. This is particularly aggravated when the individual is not telling the truth or when he is trying to avoid giving a response that is irritating because of serious complex material tied up with it. In the clinic, therefore, when we are dealing with criminals, since we cannot psychoanalyze the man and get into his deep-seated emotional conflicts by this lengthy method, it has been our procedure to get the offender's interpretation of the ink blots on the Rorschach test and when a bizarre or unusual response occurs, note it.

Taking, then, a series of these unusual responses after the man has been attached to the polygraph, we are able to find which of them represent serious emotional conflicts by the changes in the breathing and in the heart rate. How far this type of investigation can be extended there is no way of predicting at the present time. It is certainly true that we have had a number of cases which seemed to be essentially harmless

on their faces, but which, when we elicited the complex material, revealed serious daydreaming about further crime which they wished to commit or serious dynamic maladjustment due to some familial conflict, some sex conflicts, which would eventually have resulted in a crime not even of the same nature as the one which resulted in the investigation which the patient was undergoing.

In addition to the polygraphic record, a new device, the photopolygraph of Darrow, proves to be even more important because complex material can be elicited by the method of Luria<sup>(17)</sup> and coordinated with the breathing and pulse changes, as well as the galvanometric reading which results from sweating of the palm when the man comes under tension. Practically the whole past sex life, attitudinal life, and criminal life of the individual can be analyzed by these methods.

In addition to the procedures which I have outlined so briefly above, another procedure is worthy of consideration. In the United States, and I presume to some extent in other countries, self-administering tests have been given, particularly tests of personality and attitudes. These comprise simple series of questions which are well standardized, which deal with neurotic attitudes, with psychotic attitudes, and in a special test devised by ourselves<sup>(18)(19)</sup> with attitudes toward the law and law enforcement. But by taking a whole battery of tests such as (1) an intelligence test, (2) a test of personality, (3) a test of attitude toward law enforcement, (4) a test of knowledge of civics, and combining the results on these tests, we are able to eliminate certain types of pathological personalities.

Last but not least, we might mention here the special psychiatric procedure used. The psychologist in our clinic tends to confine himself as far as possible to standardized tests which reveal to us where the man stands in relation to the whole group of the population of his age and social standing, how intelligent he is, how far he got in school, whether he has a specific reading difficulty which makes him illiterate and makes him protest against the law, and in other ways gives us a picture of his personality. The psychiatrist goes to the other extreme. He tries to carry his interview in as free-floating a fashion as possible. He tries to get the man in a friendly mood so he will discuss his attitude toward the law. Some of the questions which are asked by the psychiatrist in such an interview as this are: "What are your plans for the future?" "Do you think that you are unfairly treated?" "Do you think that

there is some hidden motive behind the police in picking you up even though you did commit this offense?"

Oftentimes the psychiatrist is able to get the man to talk about his partners in crime. It seems to be inadvisable at the present time to give the usual psychiatric examination to a criminal. This often is composed of such questions, as you may know, as, whether the individual hears imaginary voices, whether he thinks that people are spying on him, whether he has been poisoned. Usually answers to such questions as these are not truthful in the case of the criminal who is almost insane and they come spontaneously from the insane, so it has been our policy to confine the psychiatric examination rather to a discussion of the man's attitude toward law and order, what he thinks that he is going to get out of either a sentence to an institution or a period of probation. It has frequently been the case in our clinic that such a free interview reveals that probation is merely leniency, that the man does not realize that it is an opportunity to make good and hence cannot act favorably to such a form of treatment.

To summarize then, we might say the novel treatment procedures which have been developed recently in addition to the old fashioned history, psychiatric interview and psychological test, are first, a combination of the autobiography with the formal interview and history; second, an evaluation of emotional attitudes through a combination of the Rorschach ink-blot with the polygraph; third, the use of a battery of standardized tests in the hands of a trained psychologist; fourth, a complete knitting together of all of the other facts by means of a free floating psychiatric interview which is not conventional in type.

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## VITA AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BERNARD GLUECK

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Dr. Bernard Glueck arrived in the United States in the Autumn of 1901. In 1909 he received his medical degree from Georgetown University. Between the fall of that year and July 1916, he served on the Staff of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, progressing rapidly through the grades of Interne, Junior Ass't Physician, Ass't. Physician and Senior Ass't. Physician. For about a year during this period, he served as Acting Ass't. Physician in the U.S. Public Health Service, on duty at Ellis Island in the mental examination of immigrants. Here he participated in the reorganization of this service and in the development of non-language performance tests, for the intelligence testing of non-English speaking immigrants. The Glueck Ship Test has since become standardized for general use.

In July 1916, he took over the duties of Director of the Psychiatric Clinic at Sing Sing Prison, which he had been commissioned to organize under the auspices of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and under a special grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The clinical and statistical reports which issued from the Sing Sing clinic brought to a constructive focus the interest then being manifested by various communal and scientific agencies in the growing problem of crime.

The stimulus given by this enterprise to research of a clinical and administrative nature contributed greatly towards making the years between 1916 and the onset of the depression years the most significant in the history of American Criminology.

With our entrance into the World War, Dr. Glueck was commissioned First Lieutenant in the Medical Corps of the U. S. Army, later being promoted to the rank of Captain, and although receiving a special call for overseas duty to take charge of a special hospital for disciplinary problems which the late Dr. Salmon was planning to establish at Blois, circumstances over which he had no control deprived him of the opportunity to respond to this call. During his absence from Sing Sing the clinic was in charge of Dr. Amos Baker and the administration

of the Clinic was taken over by the State Department of Correction.

The experience at Sing Sing led to a recognition of two fundamental needs in the social application of psychiatry without which its usefulness would of necessity remain very limited. The first of these was the need for well trained non-medical personnel as aid in carrying out the psychiatric treatment of the socially mal-adjusted. The second need re-emphasized on the basis of the clinical findings at Sing Sing was for a more thorough and more widespread study of infancy and childhood.

Healy's work in the field of juvenile delinquency as well as the contributions from the psychoanalytic school indicated the direction which research in this field must take if psychiatry is ever to succeed in influencing the preventive possibilities in the field of social-maladjustment.

In 1916, Dr. Glueck published his *Studies in Forensic Psychiatry*, a collection of essays on the psychopathology of crime, two of which had particular bearing on this subject, *The Catamnestic Study of the Juvenile Offender*, and *A Case of Kleptomania*, which showed some interesting psychoanalytic features.

The opportunity for contributing towards the fulfilment of the above needs came with organization early in 1919 of the Department of Mental Hygiene of the New York School of Social Work, and the later organization of Bureau of Child Guidance under a grant from the Commonwealth Fund and as part of this Fund's broad enterprise in the field of criminology in 1921. The teaching facilities at the New York School of Social Work were excellent, supplemented as they were by a Children's Clinic at the old Vanderbilt Clinic and bi-weekly clinics held at the Manhattan State Hospital at Ward's Island, both under the direction of Dr. Glueck. After 1921, the clinical teaching was concentrated at the Bureau of Child Guidance which was directed by Dr. Glueck until the end of 1924. There may be some difference of opinion regarding the precise origin in time and place of the profession of Psychiatric Social Work, which has experienced such a significant and lusty growth. The late Dr. Southard and Miss Jarrett certainly must be looked upon as pioneers in this field. What was done under Dr. Glueck's inspiration and guidance at the New York School of Social Work and by the growth of this department at the N.Y. School of Social Work occupied by his former students in the field of Psychiatric Social Work between the years of 1919 and 1924 is attested to by the important pos-

Work. During this period and from its very inception Dr. Glueck has lectured during many seasons at the New School for Social Research, and acted as Consultant in Psychiatry to the New York Neurological Institute.

In 1925, Dr. Glueck resigned as Director of the Department of Mental Hygiene and Bureau of Child Guidance of the New York School of Social Work to enter upon the private practice of Psychiatry in New York City. Since his interest in the psychoanalytic approach to psychiatry, initiated during his association with the late Dr. Wm. A. White, had become intensified with the years, having been a member of the N. Y. Psychoanalytic Association since 1921, he went to Europe in the Fall of 1925, studying with the late Drs. Karl Abraham and Otto Rank, and later with Edward Glover in London under whom he completed his training analysis returning to his private practice in New York City in January 1927.

His practice tended more and more in the direction of an application of the psychoanalytic technique to the severer types of psychoneuroses and recent cases of major psychoses. The lack of opportunity to apply the psychoanalytic technique to those patients who could not be treated outside of a hospital regime decided him to open a private sanitarium whose central aim would be the fulfilment of this need. A similar private hospital had been in operation in Berlin under the direction of Dr. Simmel, but apart from sporadic and isolated attempts largely based on the interest of some individual member of the Staff of existing hospitals, no such service as was here contemplated was available then in the United States. Stony Lodge received its first patient in February of 1928 and for five years following was conducted exclusively as a psychoanalytic private sanitarium. Since then its services have been materially widened, especially following the introduction in the Autumn of 1936 of the Insulin Shock therapy. It is regrettable that Dr. Glueck has not as yet published an adequate account of the first five years at Stony Lodge when it functioned exclusively as a psychoanalytic hospital although at the 1930 and 1931 meetings of the American Psychoanalytic Association clinical papers were read by him in this phase of the work.

The final story of the applicability of the psychoanalytic technique to the major psychoses has not been told, although a critical estimate of this is very much needed.



In the summer of 1936 while in Vienna in connection with a visit to the U.S.S.R., and attendance at the International Psychoanalytic Congress at Marienbad, he met Manfred Sakel and had the opportunity to observe at first hand his use of the Insulin Shock therapy in Schizophrenia. The amazing effects of this treatment, although as to permanent results he had only the published reports of European authorities to be guided by, led to his spending three weeks at the Cantonal Hospital at Musingen, Switzerland, where he studied the application of this method of therapy under Muller and upon his return to the U.S. in September, he published an account of his experiences in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. He was unaware of the practice of the editors of this *Journal* of conveying the contents to the Associated Press. The wholly unexpected flood of inquiries which followed, especially from medical sources became unmanageable and could only be met by the publication of another paper describing the technique of this treatment. While in Vienna, Dr. Sakel literally begged for an opportunity to work in the United States, and as soon as conditions could be arranged Dr. Glueck engaged Dr. Sakel as consultant to the Staff of Stony Lodge at a very substantial salary with the understanding that he train the Staff in the application of this method. Soon after Dr. Sakel joined the Staff of Stony Lodge, Dr. Glueck offered to share Dr. Sakel's services with the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene and through the interest of Drs. Parsons and Roos a training center under Dr. Sakel's direction was established at Harlem Valley, where a large number of the physicians from various state hospitals had the opportunity to learn this method of therapy from Dr. Sakel himself. The introduction of this method of therapy to Stony Lodge was a terrific strain upon Dr. Glueck and his Staff as well as a considerable financial drain, and the entire situation became almost unbearable, especially when we were unable to resist the pressure of relatives for the treatment of chronic and unsuitable patients. In July 1937, Dr. Emerick Friedman joined the Staff of Stony Lodge and introduced the camphor and metrazol therapies for the more recalcitrant patients.

Nothing of equal significance to the introduction of the chemical shock therapies has occurred in the field of psychiatry since Freud's publication of his paper on the Defense Neuro-psychoses in 1894.

The final word on the ultimate worth of these therapies or of Sakel's place in the furtherance of them has not been said. There is no intention of publishing the Stony Lodge material until at least five years have



elapsed since treatment was instituted. For several years Dr. Glueck served as Attending Psychiatrist to Montefiore hospital, is a member of a number of local, national and international medical societies, President of the New York Society of Psychopathology and Psychotherapy, and Vice-President of the American Psychopathological Society.

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## Abstracts from Current Literature

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### A - Psychoanalysis

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON OBSESSIONAL NEUROSES FROM A PSYCHOANALYTICAL VIEWPOINT.  
RENE DE MOCHY. *Journal Belge de Neurologie et de Psychiatrie*. 39:433 June 1939.

Case report of a young man named Philippe, age 30, who was afflicted with a typical obsession in which it became necessary for him during his work to place the pencils on his desk in a given direction. His pencil box also had to be placed so that it would open in the same direction. Certain complicated rules seemed to exist that made it obligatory for him to follow out this routine. It was noted that the hour of the day and the particular spot he happened to be in would determine to some extent the appearance of the obsession. Further analysis indicated that the pencils pointed to the work shop of his father and that the pencil boxes also opened in the same direction. When the father was absent Philippe appeared to be in an uncertain state of mind and was unable to adjust the pencils and boxes. The same obsession applied to knives, scissors and all other cutting and potentially dangerous objects. The patient felt that he was compelled by an internal force to carry out this ritual and that in the event he ignored it he would be overcome with fear. He explained this compulsion by stating that a pointed object directed by his father can cause the death of himself, hence, the necessity for pointing the object in the other direction. The boxes appeared to be like coffins which suggested evidence that his father might be interred therein.

The developmental history of Philippe showed that his parents had been divorced when he was two years old and that he had lived as an only child with his father. The mother was psychopathic and her conduct was coarse and brazen. When the parents were still living together there were terrible scenes between them often culminating in blows. Outwardly Philippe hated and feared his mother and had a great love and attachment for his father. These feelings, of course, were ambivalent as is indicated by his obsessional ritual. Criminal fantasies in his dreams showed marked aggressive tendencies, such as, seeing his father in a coffin, driving a locomotive which demolished a wall, the killing of a man obviously his father.

The author makes a distinction between types of obsessional cases which do not have the feeling of freedom of will to perform their acts and those who carry out obsessive acts without any feeling of constraint. The case of Philippe is illustrative of the latter type. The author quotes a case bearing out the former type in which constraint of volition is evidenced. The author calls attention to the Freudian concept that obsessional behavior is more or less analogous to other actions which may be performed volitionally but which if neglected give a sense of fear or anxiety. The individual then is placed in a position where he is not free to ignore his actions but at the same time actually has the power to do so. A young man of thirty years of age is under the compulsion to bathe constantly, to wash his hands with all sorts of perfumed soaps and to undergo a complicated ritual of purification otherwise he becomes ill at ease and fearful. He has the delusion that he would become blind by syphilis or through gonorrheal conjunctivitis as the result of past sexual misconduct. The question is raised as to the reason for the feeling of constraint in carrying out compulsive acts occurring in one patient but not occurring in the other. The author in explaining this

calls attention to some of the fundamental symptoms of neuroses in general. The symptom is always indicative of psychic conflict and is composed of three combined factors; the nature of the drive which is repelled, the circumstances which prevents the drive from arriving at its goal, and the method of such prevention. In the case of Philippe it is evident that the repelled drive is a response to aggressive tendencies against the father. The love for the father and the fear of losing him is accompanied by the unconscious desire of accomplishing his death. Philippe causes a magic annulment of the desire of death through ritualistic action. The neurotic symptom in itself does not have solely the significance of repelling a drive for it also is a means of satisfying a desire in a clandestine manner. Due to the insistence of the compulsive acts that the father being present when the pencils and boxes are arranged and that there are certain spots where such arrangement cannot be done even in the presence of the father because Philippe has the idea that it is too dangerous, the whole situation places the son as being under tyrannical direction of the father. Under the pretext of protecting his father Philippe finds satisfaction in his aggression. These obsessions are troublesome to the father but the son suffers still more because his symptoms constitute a true autopunishment. The repelled drive has a sexual background which is made up of threats and defenses received in youth through his mother at the time he showed curiosity on sexual subjects. The autoerotic practices have been chided by his mother and threats of punishment were made to the effect that he would become sick and that she found him disgusting, wretched and never cared to see him again. Thus the threats of youth became the motivation of a fear of impotency which is the basis of the neuroses. In the case of the youth who had the compulsion of purification through constant bathing, there was the fear that venereal disease would ulcerate his eyes and thus shame would become apparent to his mother. Through constant lavage the cleanliness of the body became a symbol of innocence and sanity.

V. C. B.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT OF REPETITION COMPUSSION. LAWRENCE S. KUBIE.  
*International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. 20:390-402 1939.

A critical analysis of the relationship of the pleasure principle to the so-called repetition compulsion is important because it strikes at the very foundation of the libido theory of Freud. The relationship of the death instinct to the pleasure principle is involved. Even Freud himself has been somewhat puzzled regarding this relationship and in his attempt to relate the pleasure principle to repetition compulsion he has been somewhat vague and contradictory at times. If this is true of Freud, it is all the more noticeable among other investigators. The object of the present paper is to bring some stability of concept out of the varying notions concerning the repetition compulsion.

*Wilhelm Reich* stated his theory as follows: "Adhesiveness of the libido can be related to the repetition compulsion which obtains emphatic expression through the pleasure principle."

*Melanie Klein* identifies the repetition compulsion with the continuous discharge of biological instinctual energy on the one hand and with repeated unsuccessful efforts to neutralize anxiety on the other. In other words, she emphasizes the tendency to resolve greater anxieties by the substitution of lesser ones.

*Edward Glover* likewise retains the concepts stream of biological instinctual energy and subdivides it into its phylogenetic aspects as an effort to neutralize racial traumata and the ontogenetic aspects as manifestations in the individual of disturbances either in his object relationship or in autoerotic problems.

*Alexander* subdivides the repetition compulsion into two phases, first, as manifested in the processes of repetition or of inhibition of instinct or, second, as manifested in what he terms as "the Breuer-Freud principle of inertia." This is no more or less than



an automatic unconscious effort to deal with external stimuli in some mechanically repeated patterns of behavior.

*Stärcke* quotes "every action and movement if not inhibited repeats itself rhythmically." The author considers this absurd because it was too general in its application.

*Anna Freud* identifies the repetition compulsion as a power analogous to the psychological concept of "habit." Since this is an inherent automatic force no other explanation is needed.

*Ferenczi* has misinterpreted Freud's concept of the death instinct and believes that death and life instincts seek to reduce all animate matter to a state of equilibrium. He feels that this offers a psychic motivation of the tendency to repeat on the basis of habit and therefore that it is necessary to reconcile repetition compulsion with the pleasure principle. Freud specifically disavowed such reconciliation and stated that instinct and habit are in the same category and tend to repeat established previous states.

*Symons* was the first observer to challenge the hypothesis of the life and death instinct being associated with the repetition compulsion but did not state his position clearly or forcefully. He took exception to the current concept of masochism and stated that the masochist never really seeks pain as that in itself for its own sake but he considers it only as a means to a pleasurable end. Therefore, masochism does not violate the pleasure principle and can be explained without the postulate of the death instinct. Repetitions were considered by him as punishment directed against the self with the idea of quelling the onset of the feelings of guilt.

It will be noted in the above theories that the efforts on the part of the various investigators were to reconcile the pleasure principle with repetition compulsion or to abandon such relationship entirely. The author of this paper in his critical discussion of the subject advocates frankly the disuse of the concept of repetition compulsion. He considers the phrase a mere epithet which at best is a psychoanalytic version of the word "habit." It fails to distinguish erotic instincts from the so-called death instinct. If such a divorce is made, he feels that it is questionable that the death instinct concept can stand alone. His reasons for arriving at such conclusions are as follows: in the first place, one must distinguish between the repetitions caused by compulsion and those that are ordinary repetitions. Mere repetition does not imply compulsion to repeat. The conscious and unconscious forces which determine the form in which gratification is sought are inflexible in neurotic behavior whereas they are flexible and variable in normal behavior. In general, if an action does not satisfy the craving which prompted it that action will be repeated.

In the second place, instinctual demands are the result of certain biochemical needs and due to the necessity of replenishment there is a constant tendency for instinctual demands to be repeated. These processes are not compulsive, however. The repetitious pattern is established only that life may go on. These patterns are innumerable and are commonplace. They attract attention only when they become symbolic as in the neuroses. Neurotic symptomatology involves a form of substitutive gratification which in truth never gratifies. The action is prompted by an inward craving which the action does not satisfy, hence, it is repeated. If neurotic behavior resolved the tension arising from resolved conflicts then neuroses would be self-effacing. As a matter of practical experience it is found that this never occurs. The analyst is called upon to aid in the seeking of methods that will give a more satisfying channel for the discharge of internal tension than is possible through neurotic behavior. If instinctual reactions are repetitious because of their biochemical origin it is quite logical that the functions of the superego must be called into action repeatedly each time instincts assert themselves. From this point of view instinctive repetitions are basic, primary and are of biochemical origin whereas repetition of the function of the ego is equally inevitable but is secondary. Neither in any sense of the term can be considered as a compulsion to repeat.

In the third place emphasis is placed upon the basic fact that the superego functions could operate apart from any immediate instinctual demands in order to expiate past sins or to avoid the commitment of future ones. A constant emanation in the

form of demands for a solution of resolved conflicts occurs in the unconscious as that relief from the tension may be obtained in some form or other. It is from this source that the repetition phenomena determined by unconscious forces arises. As has been stated these may be completely divorced from primary instinctual demands. Clinical practice has revealed that these demands tend to arrange themselves in rigid moulds determined after a long process of trial and error. The mould in which a form of conduct finally becomes set has a stereotyped pattern of behavior. It is the one that gives the greatest relief from tension and at the same time serves the greatest number of neurotic demands. All stimuli of high potential pressure inevitably tend to come to a state of equilibrium in which the forces involved shall be equally diffused. This is true psychologically, as well as, physically. Kubie challenges Freud's characterization of the manifestations of the repetition compulsion as a tendency dramatically to relive earlier emotional experiences. He states the relieving of these experiences in a life situation, in play symptoms or in dreams has no pleasure value to the individual and, therefore, cannot be related to the pleasure principle. Kubie feels that this is an *ad hoc* explanation used to dissipate complexity. He feels that it would be possible to explain all of these phenomena on the basis of the pleasure principle alone. He calls attention to the fact that neurotics reliving past traumatic experiences through their dreams may be awakened by terror before the actual achievement of the dreamer's goal is attained. The dreamer, of course, is trying to create a situation from which he comes forth triumphant and unharmed. This gives to the dreams and the experience of the traumatic neuroses their peculiar and exceptional quality. For the above reasons Kubie feels that the case for repetition compulsion has not been made by Freud and his followers and he suggests, therefore, that the term be dropped as inadequate. He furthermore feels that a simpler explanation of repetitive phenomena adequately covers the situation as outlined above.

V. C. B.

THE PROBLEM OF ORAL FIXATION. G. GERO. *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*. 24:239 1939.

A more valid definition of the concept of oral fixation is required in the present state of the development of psychoanalysis. The individual differences and variations from the norm cannot be ignored. The author tries in several cases to evaluate the role of oral fixation in a neurotic individual, but is hindered by the problem of differentiation and delimitation of the term. Several cases were analysed by the author in which the important features of the symptomatology of the neuroses were, to a great extent, influenced by the disposition of oral erotism. Character development is the result of the specific defensive methods of the ego and its repulsed derivatives still present in a modified form. According to Freud, the permanent features of character remain either as unchanged continuation of the original impulses, or as formations of reactions against such impulses. The neurotic symptoms present represent a compromise and also contain in addition to the defensive activity of the ego, traces of repulsed activity of the unconscious.

An influence on the formation of character may be exerted in various ways by oral fixation. Differences of constitutional make-up may be found in the oral properties of the libido or it is also possible that previous experiences intensified one or another part of their "orality." To investigate this problem is difficult because this orality does not appear isolated but shows numerous relations to other phenomena. The structure of the impulse is usually kept down by the defensive activity of the ego and can be detected only in contradictions of the conduct or in symptoms of neurotic character. Only in exceptional cases do the complicated psychic structures allow an observation of an isolated phenomenon, *i.e.*, the mode of activity of oral impulses. The author analyzed one such clear defined case and describes this case in detail.

Only relatively late the psychoanalysis discovered that the development of impulses in both sexes showed great differences. Even now our knowledge regarding the female sexual development is more limited than that of the male. The psychoanalyst must be familiar with the disposition and after effects of oral impulses in female neuroses if he wants to make a complete study of the problem of oral fixation. Such patients consider the object of love as part of ego and not as an independent object. This conduct is termed "oral" because the relations between infant and mother in form of sucking served as a mode.

The unity between the body of the infant and that of the mother is not yet eliminated in a situation in which we speak of a satisfaction of an impulse. Women belonging to such oral types show an emphasis of receptive tendencies in their sexuality although the normal female sexuality of women is characterized by their ability to receive. There appears to be a difference between an exaggerated passivity and the receptivity but by no means passive sexuality of a normal woman. One may speak of an oral type of an intercourse in some women. In such cases the enjoyment is exclusively because of the reception of a gift and not to a real genital stimulation. The identification with a man during the act shows a specific structure in women with an oral fixation while in normal women a genital identification with a partner intensifies the stimulation and creates a passion. In women with oral fixation, such identification with a man means nothing else but that she receives the penis. As contrasted with normal conditions, the male organ is not desired as a medium of sexual satisfaction but for regulation of the woman's own feeling and for elimination of the sensation of weakening deficiency. Women show entirely different relations to the objects of love and effective moods than men do. The female neurosis in which the oral fixation plays the main role presents various defense mechanisms. They use the oral libidinous tendencies for the purpose of suppression of oral sadistic impulses. Such defensive form creates additional technical difficulties in the analysis of such structures. In the course of analysis, one finds that the dependence of such patients on the object offers great difficulties to the demonstration of aggressions. The oral libidinous demands are transferred to the psychoanalyst from whom the fulfillment of the childish desires is expected. The patient expresses aggressions which necessitate the use of strong defensive measures.

The dependence on the objects and the mechanism used at the regulation of the feelings could not be explained by the orality alone. Many treatises dealing with the female neurosis of the oral type have been written. Fenichel, for instance showed how oral trauma presents genital conflicts and how fears and aggressions of the genital ways are experienced by persons with oral fixation. In the female neurosis one may find mutual relations between oral and genital spheres. Genital difficulties are prepared by oral conflicts and conversely the fate of the infantile genitality determines whether or and how the oral fixation may be overcome. To draw any conclusions as to the female sexuality from observations on the oral female types would be dangerous.

The dependability of a woman upon the object of love being of a biologic origin has been repeatedly expressed in the analytical literature, but the author was able to establish relations between pathologic forms of such dependability and certain types of oral fixation. A great caution in the interpretation of pathologic symptoms as a biologic phenomena is detected by such observations. The role of social conditions in the customary education on the great dependability of women on the object of love is difficult to determine. It would be wrong to consider inhibition of the genital activity in women as an expression of normal receptive tendencies in spite of a certain normal receptivity in the female sexuality. A woman can obtain real sexual satisfaction if an increased tension is relieved by corresponding genital activity.

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## B - Neuropsychiatry

MENTAL ABNORMALITY IN RELATION TO CRIME. PAUL A. DRAPER. *The American Journal of Medical Jurisprudence*. 2:161-165 March-April 1939.

Mentally abnormal individuals are potentially greater risks regarding anti-social conduct than is the case with normal individuals. More serious crimes are committed by this group and also the large proportion of recidivists comes from them. Psychopathic individuals tend to commit crimes against the person whereas non-psychopaths operate against property. The author feels that both mental disease and crime have been on the increase in recent years. Motivations for crime are usually unconscious and often result from fantasies in which crime becomes an effort to escape from conflict. Mentally ill individuals escape stress by fleeing or withdrawing from it but the criminal psychopath attacks the situation by anti-social methods. In each case the individual is unable to meet the demands of the social group. There are, of course, a complexity of causes back of crime aside from psychopathic conduct. These have been listed in nine categories by the author as follows: attempt to escape from fear in which the instinct of self-preservation is aroused; a protest against deprivation with the feeling that the "breaks are against him;" a gratification of secret longings and the desire for thrills, especially seen in gang activities; restiveness under the restraint and inhibition of modern civilization; an expression of long repressed impulses which come as an impulsive outbreak; a disguise for more serious offenses against selfhood, such as, obsessive stealing and autoerotic sex practices; a sudden eruption of suppressed hatred, especially seen in hatred against the father in which there is an aggression towards his surrogate; a general paranoid condition with chronic suspicion; and finally, exhibition of egocentricity usually as an over-compensation of a sense of inferiority.

The author discusses the legal concept of determining responsibility by an evaluation as to whether or not the offender understands the difference between right and wrong and the nature and quality of his act. It is admittedly an antique rule of procedure but nevertheless is observed in every State in the Union except New Hampshire. Particular difficulties arise in estimating responsibility where the individual is evidently mentally ill and yet seems to be responsible for what he has done. Such individuals have a milder degree of mental disturbance and have been classified by the author under the general term of psychoneurotic. These individuals are reacting to fears, phobias and compulsions. Hysterical persons are peculiarly susceptible to suggestion. Those suffering from chronic fatigue are easily led into anti-social behavior. In the group of those who are mentally ill but are still responsible for their crimes are malingerers. It is understood that the malingering is done on a psychopathic basis rather than a direct commercially organized project.

Doctor Draper has suggested a classification of personality abnormalities which is of value in evaluating responsibility. The four classes of personality deviations in this group are:

(1) *Inadequate Personalities* - these individuals have a diversion to steady employment and are peculiarly self-centered.

(2) *Egocentric Group* - the show offs from which swindlers, impersonators and gang leaders are recruited. Such individuals are compensated for their feeling of inferiority.

(3) *Unstable Group* - lack of ability prevents their obtaining any degree of success, consequently they attempt to create situations which will excite their emotions and give them the feeling of fulfilling to an extent some of their wishes.

(4) *Psychopathic Personalities* - inherently they are unable to follow any sustained line of effort and fail to learn by experience. They are notoriously non-conformists and as a result misbehave when the demands of the community become too hard upon them. To this group belong the prostitutes, alcoholics, drug addicts, psy-

chopathic liars, vagrants. This group is peculiarly prone to episodic upsets superimposed upon the trends just mentioned. At such times they are brought into the courts for threats, assaults and quarrels.

The group above mentioned covers those who are mentally ill but are responsible to a degree for their acts. The author next discusses the group who are mentally ill but are not responsible for their acts. The two large components of this group are, of course, the feeble-minded, particularly those of low grade, and the insane. Practically all of the different categories of the insane fall into this grouping but some tend more towards anti-social conduct than others. This is especially true of the paranoids, epileptics, paretics and certain types of schizophrenics.

V. C. B.

TREATMENT OF CONFLICTS ARISING IN SIBLING RIVALRY. LAURA KNICKERBOCKER. *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*. IV:12-22 January, 1940.

Sibling rivalry may express itself in the extremes of regression to infantilism accompanied by passivity and anxiety to well-planned aggression and destructive behavior. Even with the assistance of parents some children are unable to develop emotionally at a consistent rate. Sibling rivalry finds its roots in insufficient love, unresolved love-hate relationships, or favoritism. Sometimes, however, a child is unable to develop properly along emotional lines even though it is assisted considerably by its parents. Going to school and competing with substitute siblings may also add to the emotional stress of a child. The maladjusted child needs scientific and intelligent treatment.

Parent substitutes found in teachers assist the child in finding outlets and thus diminishing the feeling of complete destruction. Constructive factors in this situation come more readily into play. Children in the Southard Schools are placed under a teacher who allows an expression of hostility on the part of the pupil without fear of considerable retaliation. By this method a state is achieved wherein the child gets along better with adults and noticeable substitute sibling relationships for the better are observable. Inasmuch as sibling jealousy varies from case to case, the program of rehabilitation differs individually. Building up confidence, finding constructive outlets, finding sublimations, increasing experiences to accept defeat and to give out love, etc., are the media of environmental control in sibling rivalry cases. Beyond these are the approaches afforded by psychotherapy and psychoanalysis. Castration fears and aggressions are controlled by the staff. Four case histories are presented to show how neurotic conflicts resulting from sibling rivalry are controlled by environmental situations.

The adult teachers of a staff in handling sibling-rivalry situations must be informed along the lines of psychoanalytic therapy; they must be emotionally stable; and, they must have insight into the instinctual drives behind the aggressions or regressions of each child. They must also be able to recognize their own emotional assets and liabilities. Objectively and flexibility in the program are needed. Sublimation of envy and rivalry by the teachers themselves is an integral part of their training.

C. D. OWENS, Woodbourne, N. Y.

PARANOIA AND HOMOSEXUALITY. JACQUES DE BUSSCHER. *L'Encephale*. 39:691-706 Oct. 1939.

The entire paper is devoted to a discussion and interpretation of the case of a young physician who was arrested in the summer of 1938 for having made improper advances to several male minors during a short vacation. The author was called in to make a mental examination. He felt that the case was worthy of reporting to the liter-



ature in order to study the relationship of paranoid tendencies to homosexuality.

The family history revealed that the father was a morphine addict. The grandfather as well as the mother was subject to diabetes. One of the patient's uncles was abnormal mentally and apparently was in a state of amnesia when killed on the highway. No homosexuality tendencies in any of the rather large number of siblings could be elicited. With respect to the personal history of the patient, a few psychosexual episodes occurred in early years. About the age of 2½ he took a lively pleasure in drawing himself above the level of his chair and allowing himself to fall back abruptly in the seat while he expelled air. At a later age he showed some primitive behavior such as bathing in his underwear. He failed to make any distinction between the sexes. At the age of 7 he had the habit of running and observing his genitalia in violent motion. Narcissistic interests had become well marked by this time. About the age of 13 he was initiated into mutual masturbation by a somewhat brighter child and thereafter he indulged secretly but not regularly. None of these practices was associated with phantasies of the opposite sex. His attitude towards women was that of respectful reserve but not of open definite dislike. Women to him were superficially a somewhat negative quantity in that they did not disturb him but all his life he had to struggle against homosexual tendencies. At the age of 17 years he had military service during the Great War. Upon his taking leave of his father, he was told that he must preserve his chastity and to return home with a clear conscience. The author comments upon the tremendous effect this paternal interdiction had upon the patient. The prohibition of not having sexual relations with women was followed to the letter but since there was no prohibition expressed in so many words regarding homosexual relations, the homosexual tendencies of the patient became strengthened during this period. He was hospitalized a number of times because of bronchitis and asthma although no residuals were found upon examination. The author calls attention to the connection between hemorrhoids and a slight rectal prolapse with which the patient suffered during this war period to the conflict of anal homosexuality. The ambivalent attitude of horror towards intercourse per anum gives over-evaluation to hemorrhoids as a method of defense from attack. After the war, he concentrated upon the study of medicine which was made possible to service men by letting down the bars of admission to various sciences. Strong defense mechanisms were put in force against heterosexuality of certain kinds that were socially ostracized. Thus he condemned emphatically defecation, adultery, prostitution, and even petting. His relationship to his patients was interesting. All practicing physicians are subject to advances from certain of their clientele both male and female. The homosexual physician under discussion had marked difficulty in avoiding the masculine advances which were offered to him from time to time. He was not entirely successful in negating these and he became known to his colleagues for the astonishing frequency in which he resorted to the operation of circumcision. Towards some patients he exerted an excessive tenderness. The author emphasizes, however, that the physician in this case did not at any time indulge in open homosexual practices but that his tendencies were unconsciously expressed and that he could be classified under the category of the "hugger" and the "frotteur." He married and although his wife had three miscarriages, four normal babies were born. There appears to have been one solid period of three years during which full heterosexual capacity was expressed by the patient. Three different types of homosexual deviation are outlined by the author:

No. 1. *Complete Inversion*. If the individual behaves as a male and resorts to heterosexual acts, he derives no pleasure therefrom.

No. 2. *The Double-Sexed Individual* (The so-called Hermaphrodite). In this type of individual, sexuality can have for its object either sex.

No. 3. *The Occasional Invert*.



The story of the life of the character under discussion was that he began as an occasional invert, progressed to the amphigenetic (Category No. 2), and finally came to complete inversion. The ill health and repeated miscarriages of his wife caused restrictions on his marital sexual relationships and forced him back into the homosexual tendencies which he had so desperately fought against. The little sallies of his earlier years reappeared but were accompanied by a developing change in his mental life. On one occasion he was called before the magistrate under the accusation that he had set fire to a signal light in the village. He was able to demonstrate that he had been at home attending clients at the time in question. Instead of dismissing the event as a triviality and forgetting about it as the normal person would do, he threatened suit and developed a contemptuous attitude toward judicial authority. One or two other instances similar in nature began to point out clearly well marked ideas of reference on the patient's part and shortly thereafter the delusion developed that men were surrounding his place and were watching his every move. He developed the fixity of stare that is noted in cases of persons that consider themselves persecuted. The progression of the mental status of this individual into a fully developed paranoid case is characterized by the following:

Correspondence showing a dictatorial, trenchant, sarcastic style; grandiloquent attitudes with expression of false sentimentality; extreme arrogance, egotism, and opinionated ideas; stream of thought characterized by lucidity, minuteness, and abnormal exaltation of the power of memory; preposterous emphasis upon details of no consequence; stereotype - his communications showed bad mistakes in spelling which were few in number but totally inexcusable in a medically trained man ostentation - for example, the patient would sign affectionate letters to his wife by affixing the initial of all his degrees.

The author calls attention to the relationship between paranoia and homosexuality first brought out by Freud and Ferenczi. Repeated attempts to find a stable place for paranoid conditions accompanying dementia praecox and other well-known disease entities have been adequately discussed by numerous authors and have even been united by Freud under the common term of paraphrenia. Interpretative psychiatry has explained the projection mechanism of paranoid cases on the basis of rationalization, namely, that the victim suffering from any idea of reference feels he must be a person of some consequence because so many people are taking notice of him. Although he is being persecuted in various forms by these people he feels his importance and thereby develops a delusion of grandeur. The analytic concept would explain the delusion of grandeur as a direct consequence of the inflation of the ego which is a throw-back of the libido through the libido being turned aside from its original object investment. This is really a process of secondary narcissism. It will be recalled that the patient under discussion showed marked narcissistic behavior in earlier life. The assumed persecutor in a great majority of paranoid cases is found to be of the same sex as the victim. Also the person accused by the patient is found to have been an individual who was the most marked in his affections before he became abnormal. The only conclusion that can be drawn, therefore, is that the patient is defending himself from an extremely strong homosexual drive with the process of regression to the preadolescent period in which homosexuality is a normal manifestation. The motivating factor is to be found in the early Oedipus situation of family life. A discussion of Freud's Schreber case is made at this point and parallels drawn between Freud's case and the author's patient.

The transformation of love into hate by this process is merely an ambivalence common in affective situations. In a great proportion of cases of paranoid deliria, more or less systematized, the motivation is a tendency to reject and to regress from the homoerotic process. These motivations are probably biologically determined, however. Bleuler, at an early period, called attention to the weakness of the heterosexual drive

in this type of case. Students in this field are practically unanimous in the belief that paranoia represents a pathological regression of a latent homosexual tendency which is predominately unconscious. It is by this method that the patient escapes from the moral condemnation of his actions but at the price of grave mental disorder. The paranoic rarely feels the significance of homosexual tendencies as such and it is unusual to find him resorting to inverted practices. However, three eventualities can take place in the development of a condition that is characterized by the author as "homosensualité." Freely interpreted this state implies a sensitization of affectivity biologically determined towards homosexual expression. The outcome of such a condition, according to the author, may be: (1) the subject accepts without pangs of conscience the condition of homosexuality and becomes perverse on that basis; (2) or he may make a pathological regression which is unconscious. He becomes paranoid but commits no pathological sexual actions; (3) through a combination of the first and second outcomes, he may show an admixture of paranoia and homosexuality. This condition develops from the preadolescent period in which homosexual expressions are normal. The author's case indicates an intrapsychic drama in which the victim is not aware of the regression through which he has passed and is not able to rationalize his conduct. He is irresponsible because he cannot choose between good and evil and really is not in possession of an exercise of the freedom of the will.

The author discusses a number of ingenious possibilities regarding the rehabilitation of this particular case, most of which have to be rejected on the grounds of being socially impractical. He calls attention to the difficulty in working with paranoid cases with the analytic technique. The narcissism present in these cases prevents the evolution of the affective transfer which is so necessary to secure adequate analytical treatment. In Belgium the penitentiaries do not possess analysts on the staff and the securing of outside treatment under these circumstances is expensive and presents practical difficulties.

The author discusses briefly a second case similar to the one just outlined.

V. C. B.

SUPERSTITION IN CRIME. FRITZ KNIGGE. *Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*. 166:271-285.

The author deals with the closer relations between superstition and especially of the spiritismus to the psychopathology in crime and illustrates same with the history of a crime which was committed due to such superstition where the spiritismus was the motivating factor in committing the murder. This case depicts a twenty-one year old young man who was a slave of spiritismus and theosophy who chanced to meet a girl ten years older. She absorbed his ideas out of the wishful desire to be with the young man. The girl developed a ecstatic subliminal conscious states which fascinated her young male partner. Subsequently the girl becomes disappointed due to different experiences and was imbued with the desire to depart from life with her partner whom she acquired in such peculiar fashion. Out of fanatic conviction in these spiritistic teachings the young man acquires enough courage to kill the girl and to injure himself: from which injuries he recuperated in a miraculous way even though the physicians despaired of the outcome.

This girl who was of comparative low intelligence was able to drive the young man of high intelligence to murder and suicide by means of mediate states in which the spiritistic complex of visualization is the motivating factor. The suggestive power of one victim is strengthened by the state of twilight in the other one. The murderer had never before committed a criminal act. His character, however, showed peculiarities which culminated in three attempts of suicide due to his inability to face the real life.

This murderer was freed from the sentence of his crime due to his irresponsibility and unsound state of mind at the time of the crime and was placed in an institution for mental diseases.

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### C • Clinical Psychology

SOCIAL FACILITATION. E. WULFF. *Acta Psychologica*. 4:275-294 May 1939.

Controlled experiments with rats were made to determine the facility with which they could adapt to certain factors having social values. It was found that rats will react differently in groups of three than when alone. After rats had thirsted for forty-eight hours they were permitted to drink for five seconds and then were subjected to an electric shock. The single rat would be deterred from attempting to drink again, to the extent of twice as much as if he were in company with two other rats. Rats in groups of three will approach and withdraw without drinking 16.4 times for a given period as compared with 11.8 times for single rats. In the triad group a rat will drink much more frequently than if left alone. Factors, such as, control of litter, weight and technique, of course, were kept constant for all these experiments.

The author concludes that the experiment seemed to support to a certain extent the Gestalt Thesis that an individual reacts to the situation as a whole. Social facilitation plays an important role in every human society and apparently the same factor seems operative in the case of animals. It is noted among human beings that few people will drink alone and even in these cases there is a sense of wrong doing. Social facilitation is especially noted in connection with the criminal offenses because many individuals could not and would not commit crimes except accompanied by other people. This theory has a bearing upon the reliability of witnesses. Testimony given by an individual who was present at a scene in company with other people is affected to considerable extent by mass psychology. In social enterprises, as well as in criminal behavior, the stimulus of carrying out projects in the presence of other people is a notable factor in the success of the undertaking.

V. C. B.

PRINCIPLES OF CONDITIONING IN HUMAN GOAL BEHAVIOR. ANTHONY J. MITRANO. *Psychological Monographs, The American Psychological Association, Inc. Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio*. Vol. 51, 1939.

Pavlov's work on conditioning of the behavior of dogs has caused some psychologists to infer that these principles of conditioning were also operative with human beings. Yet, it has been maintained that without experimental evidence no such conclusions could be rightfully demonstrated. Several investigators have supplied evidence in support of conditioning principles which displayed essentially the same characteristics as found by Pavlov, and could be applied to human beings in the reflex mechanisms such as lid reaction, tactile sensitivity, and galvanic response. However, their situations experimentally were analogous to those of Pavlov since the subjects did not play an "active" but rather a "passive" role. Thus, the human subject like the dogs or Pavlov, was strapped and made so secure that his behavior and his movements did not affect the presentation of the conditioned stimulus.

In this study, the situations were so arranged that it was not "passive" but "active" or "dynamic, wherein the subject had very few restrictions on his behavior, and the object of his investigation was to determine if conditioning principles could be applied and did operate in human goal behavior.

Low grade, feeble-minded children were used as the subjects in this study, and food urge selected as a means of motivation. These subjects manifested their behavior by striving to secure small pieces of candy. Two mechanisms were used as apparatus. One machine released poker chips when marbles were inserted, while the other machine released chocolate candy when poker chips were inserted. The sequence of behavior in this scheme usually amounted to a placing a marble into the marble-chip machine, and after receiving a chip, to drop this into the chip-candy machine, from which candy was received and eaten. There was some variation in the experimental conditions used in order to meet the needs in the study, but these variations were not introduced until after a series of reinforcements of the above mentioned sequence.

This study in its findings tended to substantiate the contention that the conditioning principles of Pavlov do operate in human goal behavior. For example, with human subjects practically the same characteristics were found to exist as Pavlov found in the dogs with reference to generalization of inhibition, spontaneous recovery, and experimental extinctions. But certain differences as well as similarities were also discovered. For example, extinction was found to be longer in this study, with reference to time and responses than in the usual study of conditioned reaction, and a question was raised as to the interpretation that the index of frustration is extinction. The evidence presented shows that extinction is only one of the measured aspects of frustration. A very interesting point involved also was the higher degree of similarity found to be existing between the curve of satiation to candy and the curve of extinction to the chips. It may be possible that these processes are overlaid with identical factors. It may also be possible that the relationships between extinction and satiation will prove to be an effective manner of studying the problems of psychological "refractory phase," which were proposed by Professor Raymond Dodge.

The results of this study would lead to the conclusion that complex human behavior can be reduced to principles of conditioning. The author gives his opinion at the close that even though there are some conditioning principles which may be used as explanatory concepts, yet there are additional concepts needed. It is pointed out definitely that this study has provided evidence that principles of conditioning may be used as experimental dimensions in the solution of psychological problems of human adoptive behavior.

JAMES J. BROOKS, Monticello, N. Y.

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL ADAPTABILITY AMONG ADOLESCENTS. CHARLES C. GIBBONS.  
*The Journal of Applied Psychology*. Vol. 23, No. 4. August 1939.

Social adaptability has been studied considerably for some time and much study is still being made. In 1904 it was found by Terman that there were certain qualities found among the best adapted pupils and certain other qualities which were found among the poorly adapted pupils. Symonds made an analysis of tact which has a close relationship to the problem of the present study. Symonds' analysis of tact is really an analysis of tactlessness since he shows many acts indicating an absence of tact. Two indices were computed from the ratings. One of these was an index of frequency of occurrence and the other an index of the amount of annoyance which was caused by the action when it occurred. The product of these two indices became the indicator of the significance of the action in social adjustment. This study was made for the purpose of finding the relationship between certain measures of adolescents. These measures included the following four points *viz.*, rating in adaptability by teachers, rating by fellow students, intelligence quotient, and the ability to select the best and worst courses of action in difficult social situations. These aspects and concomitants of social adaptability were examined quite carefully in this investigation.

The subjects of this study consisted of one hundred adolescents. A group of twenty boys and girls was selected from five institutions, one boarding school and four rural consolidated high schools. The paired-comparison method was used in the

ratings by the teachers and was very satisfactory. The coefficient of reliability of the ratings was .96. The pupils did their ratings by the selection of companions for a trip. The ratings of the teachers and pupils closely agreed. The pupil's intelligence did not unduly influence the raters as shown by intelligence test results.

One hundred college students submitted difficult social situations and fifty high school seniors suggested solutions to these situations. Forty-two situations were selected from these two sources and with four possible solutions to each, were presented to high-school pupils for the purpose of determining and measuring ability to choose the best course of action in these various difficult social situations. These situations and courses of action were construed as a Test of Tact. The fact that these situations are verbal rather than behavioral limits their value as measuring devices. It was assumed that those who selected the best course of action would be more likely to follow it than those who could not make the proper choice. A consensus of "expert" opinion provided a key for the Tact Test. The five groups were given the Tact Test and after ten days they were given it again. The coefficient of reliability of the test was found to be .74. A computation was made of the consistency of response which revealed that there is more consistency in those whose total scores are above average than those below average. There was a consistent increase in the Tact Test score with age and the girls proved to be superior to the boys at every age level.

Some of the most significant conclusions found in this study are that in rating pupils the paired comparison method is very reliable and practical with groups of twenty; a measure of the degree of agreement of the raters is a significant supplement to the coefficient of reliability of ratings; disagreement among raters when analyzed showed that certain teachers are eccentric, while most teachers agree quite closely with the average ratings of the pupil; a low positive relationship exists between an adolescent's ability to solve difficult social situations, when verbally presented, and his ratings by his associates; teachers and pupils are in close agreement in the ratings which are given to other pupils; the intelligence of the pupil does not materially affect the rating of social traits by the teachers; and other factors than abstract intelligence are important in solving difficult social situations.

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#### D - Social & Statistics

CRIMINAL STATISTICS OF CHILD MURDER. OIVA ELO. *Deutsche Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Gerichtliche Medizin*. 32:1-47 1939.

This lengthy article dealing for the most part with statistics of child murder in Finland before the war, draws several significant conclusions. Child murder clearly belongs to that group of crimes in which the difference between real and apparent delinquency is not marked. Examination of criminal statistics, however, is valuable if the police entrusted with such crimes keep the proper records. In Finland the records reveal that in fifty per cent of all cases which were handled by the police, the child murder was explained and the murderers were brought to court and sentenced. Child murder is being committed much more frequently in the country than in the cities in Finland as elsewhere. The explanation, of course, is the fact that the practice of interruption in pregnancies and criminal abortions are more prevalent in large centers. The maximum number of child murders happens in Finland in June; the minimum is committed in October. The statistical curve does not indicate a seasonal rhythm due to the poor circumstances, but coincides rather with general criminality. The height of the pregnancy curve in such child murderers is to be found in September and in May and is the same which is found in the same curve in deliveries out of wedlock.

The crime of child murder was found to be relatively continuously declining in



Finland in comparison with women pregnant out of wedlock. This decline is greater in the cities than in the country. Wherever the practice of abortion becomes universal there is also to be found that child murder becomes a rarity. This was proven in Helsinki. The Finnish Statute of June 6, 1914, which pretains to the crime of child murder was lenient and, therefore, did not contribute to the lessening of the frequency of this crime. In Finland the child murderer is relatively more prevalent than in other Nordic states. The child murderesses are predominately poor individuals, unmarried and of a low level of education, but they form a separate group of individuals with their number of members being almost constant and periodical among the unmarried pregnant women. The relative number of unmarried pregnancies seemed to be less in the cities of Finland than in the country which is to be explained partly from the fact that the number of such pregnancies was due to a decline of conception, and partly to the influence of abortions. The number of young pregnant women among the unmarried is relatively greater than that of the married ones. The percentage among the married and unmarried pregnant women grew among the younger class and declined in the older one.

The statistical curve which shows the monthly changes in the frequency of birth among the children of married and unmarried parents is approximately parallel. Also the pregnancy curve shows the same change among the married pregnant women as in the unmarried ones. The quota of unmarried people and the fertility of unmarried people is relatively slight in Finland. The number of still births among the unmarried pregnancies in Finland is greater than the number among the married. Up to 1905 as the number of marriages in Finland declined but thereafter increased. The number of women who married before reaching the age of twenty had declined continuously in Finland.

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BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS IN CHILDREN FROM THE HOMES OF FOLLOWERS OF FATHER DIVINE.  
LAURETTA BENDER AND M. A. SPAULDING. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*.  
91:460-472, April 1940.

The teachings of this movement include a denial of family ties and responsibilities toward the family, even after the family is already formed. Father Divine is the family life, he is both mother and father of the parents and children. The children call their mother big sister and their father big brother. In an attempt, from the viewpoint of the child, to evaluate the effects of the teachings of Father Divine on the lives of the children of his followers, a study was made of eight children entering Bellevue Hospital for observation. These cases are divided into the following groups:

(1.) Children who have accepted the teachings of Father Divine at one time and have been accepted as integral members of one of the Kingdoms but were later rejected and who reveal a severe emotional conflict in relation to the movement.

(2.) Children who have shown behavior disorders due to the social and emotional insecurity brought on by the desertion or neglect of their parents who have joined the movement of Father Divine and are living in accordance with its teachings. These children do not believe in Father Divine and are antagonistic to his teachings.

(3.) Mental defective or very dull children who have been deserted or neglected by their parents who have become followers of Father Divine. As a rule, these children show no special reaction toward the movement or its influence.

The study of these eight cases, which are divided in three groups, show the effects of a specific neglect of children by their parents. They have diverted their emotions towards Father Divine and no interests remain for the children. The parents not only neglect their physical well being. The child is faced with a situation which is bewildering and intolerable and this situation is made even more complicated for the child by the fact that it is confronted with definite teachings of a mystical and magic character.



It is probable that whenever the children have average, or better intelligence there is a primary tendency to accept the beliefs of their parents. In the cases of Group II the children seemingly went through a phase of acceptance of their parents' teachings. The acceptance of these children is not based on a positive feeling but also upon the fears of revenge and punishment by the magic power.

These children are exposed to further difficulties that originate in those teachings of Father Divine which are so strongly directed against hetero-sexuality and the family ties. They are not quite sure about their sexual leaning and they become completely confused and bewildered about their own relations to their parents. Furthermore these parents deny their children many harmless pleasures socially acceptable by the majority, such as movies and the playing with other children. This not only adds to the deprivations but isolates the child from the group and exposes him to their scorn. These children, suffering from deprivations in love, physical needs and social esteem, together with intellectual and emotional confusion, try to defend themselves by acts which are more or less asocial. In Group I, the children retain some belief in Father Divine and in the decisions of their parents but the signs of revolt are already present and in the asocial act the child expresses his revolt, even though he has not clear insight as to the cause of the revolting. In Group II, the children protest against Father Divine and their parents openly, although they may still believe in his magic powers. The asocial acts are protests both against the deprivations and the intellectual insecurity. In Group III, the psychological problems presented in the others do not play an important part. The children are intellectually and emotionally not capable of understanding their situation and are really neglected children in the ordinary sense.

It is remarkable that the reactions of the children are more dependent upon their intelligence than upon their chronological age. The range of ages in the first two groups is between six and thirteen and the range in the third, or inferior group, is about the same, from five to thirteen. Exposed to a rather unique social situation consisting of (1) specific emotional neglect by the parents; (2) physical neglect; (3) intellectual insecurity concerning magic and heterosexuality; (4) deprivation of social enjoyments and contacts, the children react in characteristic ways which may be classified as: (1) attempts to understand the parents and to keep up the relationships with them; (2) to accept as much as possible of the complicated intellectual situation; (3) the inability to stand the deprivation; (4) intellectual doubt and rejection; (5) asocial acts. But these reactions occur in children whose intelligence is high enough to grasp the impact of the situation.

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EFFECTS OF INCARCERATION ON THE ADULT CRIMINAL AS OBSERVED IN A PSYCHIATRIC COURT CLINIC. CHARLES B. THOMPSON. *Mental Hygiene*. 24:50-58. January 1940.

What incarceration does to a man is a subject which is beginning to obtain considerable attention. This report concerns itself with observations made in the Psychiatric Clinic of the Court of General Sessions in New York City where examinations of prisoners are conducted between the period of conviction, or plea, and sentence. Some of the conditions of incarceration observed included: the results of the experience of arrest, the tension of the trial, and the uncertainty of sentence.

The period of this court clinic for the examination of prisoners is comparatively short, however, certain advantages are present: the prisoners are still in contact with their friends, the psychiatrist is not too familiar a person and hence does not find the antipathy the prison psychiatrist encounters, the prisoner knows his confidences have less opportunity for repercussion, the prisoner has not had the opportunity to fall in with a group of prisoners, and finally, the prisoner is examined in a medical environment with magazines, women clerks, etc., of normal life in evidence.

The positive features of this period of incarceration include: a number of people need a slight jolt in respect to their social conduct and this period of imprisonment seems to teach the necessary lesson methods of handling first offenders, the young offenders, *etc.*, have been improved; probation becomes more effectual by the psychiatrist's pointing out to the inmate the nature of his crime and offering suggestions for future conduct.

The features which work adversely in this period of incarceration are the results of years of operation. The contempt and harshness with which people are treated before proven guilty did not add to an inmate's respect for the law. The "third degree," indiscriminate herding without regard for differences in intelligence, refinement, *etc.*; limitations placed on communication with relatives; the regarding of all as dangerous criminals before actually proven guilty in court; are detrimental to persons taken into custody. That these are the results of imprisonment is indicated when these prisoners re-appear during probation and some of the emotional states resultant from the treatment previously mentioned have disappeared.

Some complaints often heard from these persons are the following: the incompetence of individuals on juries is often cited, poor persons can only afford mediocre lawyers - the rich do not suffer so heavily at the hands of the law. Inability to raise bail, even though a small amount, forces a number of people to face a period of imprisonment which they could have avoided if they had had the funds.

Somewhere between 40 and 50 per cent of those seen are first offenders who have committed accidental offenses. Their reactions to this period of being in prison give a good picture of what is actually going on. They complain that the old timers talk of nothing but their crimes. Women prisoners in this group complain of being placed with drug addicts, aggressive prostitutes, and of being constantly exposed to obscene conversations.

Mild depressions, attempts at suicide, prison psychosis, and emotional and intellectual confusion are also results observed in this clinic.

Those who have been arrested on previous occasions exhibit the antisocial feeling that their methods are a substantial means of livelihood. They recognize the hazards involved in their actions. The enforced idleness is meaningless to them as they are accustomed to sitting around. Again, the "bed and three squares" in prison is better than what many have had.

Whatever can be done to eliminate the various factors mentioned in this period of observation should be done.

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THE FAMILY IN A CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER. E. M. CARRINGTON. *The Educational Forum*. 4:191-197, January 1940.

The article in general covers the many factors that have been operating to change the status of the family as a unit in the social stratum during the last ten years. Some of the factors involved as enumerated by the author include the growth of cities, the increased leisure time at the disposal of individuals, better wages, the lessening of the sense of independence of the individual workers as a result of mass productive methods. There is a marked tendency for standardization of commodities put out in enormous quantities to do away with the necessity for the individual household to produce. Woman has become emancipated to a degree from home restrictions. Culture has been standardized. The home offers fewer attractions for keeping the group together evenings. Children seldom participate with their parents in their leisure activities. For example, 21% of the boys and 33% of the girls of a study were found to attend movie pictures with their parents. The younger people seek recreation outside of the home

during their leisure hours and as a result there has been a marked development of public parks, swimming pools and commercial recreation halls, such as, the dance, movie and restaurant groups. Visitors seldom go from one home to another for the two family groups tend to seek their diversion outside of the home. The automobile has made it possible for the development of homes in suburban areas.

Despite increased salaries and better working conditions, the working family is still operating at a standard below the level set by social workers. One out of every three American families fails to achieve a minimum desirable standard of living. The financial collapse of 1929 and 30 led to widespread inferiority feelings, the setting adrift of boys and girls without proper supervision and the feeling of a desperate insecurity which has had prolonged deplorable effects in large groups. The youth of these depression years probably has to be considered as a lost generation. The increase of unemployment following the depression has led toward a marked change of industry towards old people. There is little work for a man over the age of forty-five and many industries are retiring men after the age of sixty. The increased financial responsibilities on the home has meant an ever narrowing sense of responsibility. The family group no longer includes a superfluity of aunts, uncles and cousins. The family unit tends to restrict itself to husband, wife and one to three children. The advent of the automobile has had marked effect upon the love life of individuals. The method of courtship has changed. The increased range of recreational and social activities brought about by wider methods of transportation leads to a greater choice in the selection of a mate and accordingly an increased divorce rate because of the tendency towards a more casual choice of mate. Marriages have declined in the urban areas due to the prolongation of the educational period and the possibility of the gainful occupancy of women. They have advanced in the rural areas. Companionate marriage is still too new for wide acceptance but there is a distinct trend in that direction due to economic factors. The relative continuity of marriage is based upon the craving for permanence and security. In general social life tends to be conservative.

The equalitarian family is replacing the patriarchal one as has been alluded to in the above paragraph. As a result of the constriction of the family group and of the different members of the family spending much of their time outside the home the family ties tend to weaken. The filocentric is often found in the middle classes. In this situation the parents having only one or two children and in themselves finding increasing restrictions placed upon them by the State turn to their children or child as a means of free expression for their own desires. This type of family tends to be built around the hopes for the children. In 1930 the average size farm family was 4.32 persons and the average size city family was 2.85 persons. Causes for this reduction are the postponement of marriage due to prolonged education and lack of money, the classification of children as economic liabilities and the widely knowledge and use of contraceptives. The upper middle classes other than college graduates tend to show low production of offsprings (except women in Eastern colleges). The upper social and economic classes appear to be on the decline and may not survive the social revolution now in effect. This group may not be as superior as is thought due to fact that physically it lacks a good deal of the virility of the other groups. America is losing its juvenile qualifications. More attention is being focused on healthier people on account of the increase in families and these is a feeling on the part of the family that children should not be allowed merely to grow up. Parents are giving more attention to the study of hygienic measures, vocational training and character building.

The type of housing has undergone a change. Instead of the individual homes there is a tendency to live in multiple dwellings, apartment houses and trailer camps. Home families do a great deal of roving about. Vast numbers of workers commute daily from suburban areas. Porches have been changed into sun-porches or sleeping quarters and drives and garages have displaced lawns. The amount of glass in con-

structing homes has increased greatly. While home ownership has increased in the city, an opposite effect is obvious in the country where farm tenancy is a marked factor. Women are divorcing themselves increasingly to the dominance of man and there is considerable experimentation going on with the object of finding suitable demands of motherhood and the exercise of a career. Women are not compelled to marry for support in near the degree that was necessary in former years. The development of day nurseries and the nursery school has permitted the working mother to overcome some of her home problems while at work. Church affiliations seem to be on the decline. The family prayer has become an obsolete observance. The government has stepped into the home life in an increasing degree through such measures as compulsory school attendance law, compulsory vaccination, federal housing, free transportation to school, free nursery schools, federal aid to farms, etc.

The author concludes by stating that in this array of various and startling changes in the home situation there is little cause for pessimism.

V. C. B.

SOCIAL FACTORS IN DELINQUENCY. GEORGE W. HENRY. *Mental Hygiene*. 24:59-78. January 1940.

The lack of uniformity of laws covering crime in the various states in the union is pointed out by the author as being a defect operating against the effective control of crime. An act of suicide in New Jersey is a crime whereas in New York it is considered as a mental illness. The attempt to mete out punishment on the basis of first offenders technically means an individual having a first conviction. Such an individual may have a long string of misdemeanors or felonies which have not been indictable on account of lack of evidence. For these reasons the definition of a criminal should be socially rather than legally determined if one is to consider methods of rehabilitation. The author would define a criminal as "an individual whose behavior is consistently and perhaps incorrigibly anti-social." In his opinion there are relatively fewer of these individuals than is commonly supposed. The "machine gun penologist" is decried because by this method of handling, all offenders are considered to be of the same stripe. As a matter of fact the author considers that the run of offenders constitutes boys whose average age is somewhat in the neighborhood of nineteen years a collection of misfits whose condition is pathetic inasmuch as the great majority of these boys could have been saved from a life of crime if they had been directed into a useful channel in their early years. The principal deductions made by the author have been made from a series of five hundred consecutive admissions to the Penitentiary of the City of New York studied by Dr. M. G. Staiman, Director of Classification:

(1) The interpretation of the facts seems to indicate that a majority of criminals are recruited from the native-born children of foreign parentage. The conflict of the child seeking American ways of living as opposed to the old world concept of the children devoting their lives to the parents appears to be at the basis of rebellion against authority.

(2) The majority of offenders come from certain crowded areas which can be designated as delinquent districts. In New York City, Harlem stands out as an example. In these districts there exists wretched housing, unemployment, social and economic insecurity. The schooling of the potential offenders is meager and there are no steady jobs for any long period of time but very little constructive use is made of the abundant leisure time. Cheap music, pool rooms, movies and dance halls provide the recreational activities of the group.

(3) The Committee for the Study of Sex Variance indicates that the sex offenders are neither psychotic nor feeble-minded but have a decided psychopathic make-

up. They show deviations in other than the sex sphere. The author suggests that these individuals appear to be frustrated and that possibly they are trying to gratify the sense of paternity. The victim may be at once the child of the sex object of the offender. Imprisonment seems to be of little value. The sex crimes seem to be prominent and indicate a disordered personality. A study of an offender should include an evaluation of the individual as a human personality, his relationship to his surroundings and to the social and economic order of which he is a part. It is the interplay of these forces which contributes to social adjustment or its lack. Many offenders show decided physical disabilities, such as, anaemia, undernourishment, gastric disorders, defective eyesight and teeth and a high percentage of venereal infection. Alcoholics and drug addicts are common to the group.

With respect to the home environment of two hundred cases seen in the Tombs from August to November 1939, one per cent only came from comfortable homes. In almost every instance the home was a tenement in which poverty and the lack of nutrition prevailed. The Porto Rican areas in New York City were found to be one of the worst delinquent areas. Broken homes, the necessity of mothers going to work and leaving their children to play in the streets, the influence of the cynical scenes to which these children have been subjected from early years are contributory factors towards delinquency. The average offender reaches only the eighth grade. The author calls attention for the need for school curricula activities. The average pupil does not go beyond the eighth grade. The author believes that the construction of the school organization on the idea that high schools should be the central nucleus is encouraged. Furthermore, he believes that sufficient time and opportunity is not given to community groups for utilizing the school facilities for community purposes. The home, street and schools are part of the social and economic order.

Unemployment has added a severe repercussion upon the life and hopes of the young. No opportunities are seen for the establishment of a career and, therefore, many of the weaker adolescents gravitate to crime. The modern social structure seems to place a premium upon aggression, the tenants of the Mosaic Law, sharp business practice and corruption in the high places. No single factor is the cause of crime but certain adjustments can be made which will tend to reduce greatly the incidence of crime. Among these are adult parental education. The development of the feeling of unity of the home, the abolition of slums, the construction of houses, the reduction of unemployment and the making available the use of vocational education much more broadly than is possible, are potent adjuncts in securing rehabilitation.

V. C. B.

### E - Medicine & Biology

ACROMEGALIC HABITUS AND SEXUAL PERVERSION. FERDINAND MOREL. *L'Encephale*. 32: 128-138, September - October 1937.

The entire article is a report of a case which came to the attention of the authorities because of numerous attempts at homicide perpetrated exclusively upon prostitutes picked up on the streets. The genealogical tree of Z- indicates a tendency towards a perpetuation of hepatic disorders on both sides of the house. In addition, on the paternal side there exists a perpetuation of an emotional instability characterized by outbursts of violent temper. Z- himself was one of seven male offspring from an illegitimate father of alcoholic diathesis and a neurotic mother suffering from hepatic disorder. Three of his brothers died at an early age. One had convulsions at the age of three, another was endocrinopathic and the remaining brother showed the characteristic trait of violent assaultativeness running throughout the family.



Z- himself was a full term baby, rather large. The appearance of the teeth, walking and talking moderately retarded but his schooling was fairly satisfactory as far as it went. He accomplished his military service without any undue conduct, became a mason and showed some ambition in taking a course in technology for the purpose of becoming a foreman in this trade. During his working period he always showed ability to work and was stable in disposition. Occasional alcoholic sprees in which he indulged impulsively revealed no quarrelsomeness, but he was inclined to be boisterous. At about the age of thirteen he commenced to masturbate and showed some tendency towards homosexuality in enlisting the service of other men in this practice. As a young man he fell in love with the daughter of a cafe proprietor. He was unsuccessful in his attentions to her but this seems to have been the nearest he ever came to having a normal sexual feeling and the memory of this girl was retained throughout the rest of his life. At this time he was arrested for stealing some linen hanging in the garden of the establishment where the girl lived. Upon his confession of the theft and restoration of part of the linen the complaint was dropped. In April 1929 he saw his future wife who was a servant in the family where he was boarding. There was no especial attachment at first and it was not until some months later that she again attracted his attention. He had an affair with her. She became pregnant and he married her although no real love seems to have existed towards her. He felt some regret at this marriage because he still carried the image of his feelings for the girl of the cafe. In his sexual relations with his wife he gave the impression of having a genital function under average. He never was brutal towards her nor subjected her to any ill usage. A son was born in the Autumn of 1929.

Z- had an abnormal hypersensitiveness towards the sight of blood or towards wounds or injuries, no matter how slight. A small cut on the tip of his finger caused him such perturbation that he fainted. On another occasion he had a slight contusion of his leg and fainted when his wife attempted to massage the swelling. He was incapable of exerting any cruelty towards animals.

Physical examination of Z- showed normal weight without excess fat; chest 185 centimeters; oval elongated facies; stooped shoulders; large winged shoulder blades, flanks parallel, pelvis structure enlarged transversally. The extremities were unusually large, especially the hands. Size of the extremities was disproportionate to the length of the body. The digits were massive, likewise the finger nails. The feet were large (wore 43 or 44 sized shoes French measurements), flat-footed. The thyroid gland was slightly protuberant in a diffused manner. Genital organs small; phimosis - operated age of three; testicles reduced in size considering the general waist and body size of Z-; skin dead white color except about the eyelids which had olive coloration. Hair and beard deep red, thick and abundant; eyebrows joined in the midline. Pigmented naevi (sed bed) about the size of one's hand was on the left lumbar region and a quite pigmented naevus about the size of a twenty centime piece bearing hair was on the left buttock. Ears lobulated, palate flat. Normal disposition of teeth which were sound; tongue voluminous; no supernumerary nipples. Eye grounds - relatively little pigmented but retinal vessels tortuous. Physiological excavation in region of macula normal; tissue glistening over papilla; blood pressure - systolic 70 - diastolic 25-30; pulse rhythm variable between 90 and 60; oculo-cardiac reflex weak; pilo-motor reflexes lively; dermatographia marked; sweating copious and especially abundant during emotional upsets; noted especially in arm pits and the palms of the hands which were never dry. He had considerable muscular strength as indicated by dynamometer, urine acid,, negative for sugar and albumen; blood Wasserman negative.

*Leucocyte Count:*

Polynuclear Eosinophiles 3%

Polynuclear Basophiles 1%

Polynuclear Neutrophiles 62%



Lymphocytes 18%

Large Mononuclears 16%

The cerebral spinal fluid findings showed no pathology, Wasserman negative. X-Ray of skull showed normal sella tursica and accentuation of sutures, frontal sinuses strongly developed with calcifications in the region of the epiphysis.

Z- shows no signs of alcoholic deterioration nor of allergy. Although his emotions are quite labile, he is not cyclothymic. He would remain quietly at home two or three months and then suddenly develop irregular conduct, such as, remaining out late at night and returning home in an emotional condition. In two or three weeks his regular habits would reassert themselves. He was much given to roaming about alone but while with friends he was quite influenced by them. There were no avaricious tendencies; all of his pay was given to his wife. He ate hugely but he imbibed water and milk in reasonable amounts. A marked tendency to sleep on the slightest provocation was noticeable. He would often fall asleep at the table awaiting the appearance of soup or some other course. His memory for remote events was unusually good. No memory lapses could be elicited.

On the side of psychopathology Z- had the habit, during these periodic upsets, of roaming about that part of town set aside for the housing of prostitutes. After several hours of this he would pick up a woman about midnight and would accompany her to her quarters. At the moment in which payment of her fee was to be made he would seize her by the neck and attempt apparently to commit homicide. On a number of occasions he would strike the prostitute with her slipper. Upon her outcries he would flee. Frequently these attacks would occur in the alleyway just before entering the home. In no instance was sexual intercourse indulged in and as a matter of fact in contrast to usual sadistic perversions his sexual excitement diminished as the struggles of his victims increased. The exact number of such assaults was not known but no less than fourteen prostitutes were called in by the police in building up the evidence on the case.

Distinct fetishism existed regarding woman's shoes. He would masturbate in them but never collected them. This action was limited entirely to the shoes of those women who aroused his desire. A variation of the fetishism was the appropriation of women's lingerie for the same purpose. While it is true that his sadistic attacks upon these women occurred in a paroxysm of sexual excitation and that he felt a sense of relief from sexual tension, nevertheless the sexual content of the fetishism itself was more marked than is sadism. Under other circumstances, such as, his marital relations he showed himself capable of almost normal sex activity. The author concludes that there is a possible disassociation between sexuality and the sadism shown, especially since the sadistic acts of Z- were not typical of true sadistic perversion.

A true acromegalic habitus is shown, namely, in the features of the hair, the skin, the hands, the X-Ray of the skull, the white cell count, sweat, stupor, thirst, hypogenitalism, diminished genital drive, variation of blood pressure and a moderate grade of effeminate behavior. The pituitary hyperfunction seems to have been manifested only after puberty. There is no gigantism although he was noted among his playmates in younger life as being unusually strong and robust and had enormous hands. At puberty certain changes in personality occurred, particularly the appearance of a violent temper. The periods of wandering were often accompanied by depression and disorders of conduct.

The question arises, of course, as to what extent the acromegalic habitus is responsible for the conduct disorders and to what extent these have been genalogically determined through the male line of descent. In reviewing the literature the author calls attention to the fifty-two published acromegalic cases of Pierre Marie, twenty-five percent of which showed psychic disturbances. In all of these cases memory and intelligence were preserved up to the very end. Emotional disorders, apathy, somnolence, lassitude of reactions, depression and irritability were common symptoms. Barros

evaluated more than three hundred and fifty published acromegalic cases. He, likewise, noted the prevalence of nervous disorders and the lack of vivacity, assurance and euphoria. The symptomatology of his cases approximated those of Marie Atkinson in a survey of thirteen hundred and nineteen cases of acromegaly found epilepsy and oligophrenia were highly prevalent. Diminution or the precocious loss of sexual potency was also frequently noted. In some instances, however, this seems to have been the result of sexual debauchery. J. Picard has published observations in acromegalic cases in which true erotomania with obscene exhibitionism occurred. It was noted in most instances, however, that the sexual excitation and satisfaction obtained through perverse acts do not occur in the acromegalic cases as is true of the typical sexual pervert.

V.C.B.

CRIMINOLOGICAL PROFILE OF GENERAL PARALYSIS. ANTONIO BARBEAU AND PAUL LE-CAVALIER. *L'Hospital*, Nov. 1938.

The authors give the result of more than eleven years of study of the relation between menigeal encephalitis and criminality. The study was carried on in prisons, hospitals and asylums with anthropometric, psychological, social and medical observations. They conclude that the sufferer from general paralysis is potentially a criminal and a delinquent in all the stages of the disease. They add however that, "from all the evidence, the paretic is not very dangerous in the scale of criminality."

The usual course of psychologic enfeeblement in general paralysis (they write) is precocious, global and progressive unless appropriate therapeutic measures intervene. The precocity, discoverable only under expert observation, often is masked from companions and laymen. Its progression is imperceptible and automatism is retained for long periods. Global affectations strike at the attention, association of images and ideas, memory of both old and new events, emotions and moral senses and above all render the patient's judgment inadequate and undependable.

A more or less profound hiatus, marked sometimes by excitement, depression or confusion, explains individual familial and legal conflicts. These conflicts are the more surprising in that the sick man apparently is normal. A medico-legal period exists from the beginning of the psychosis. This does not, however, negate the fact that the general paralytic is, at all stages of the disease, a delinquent or criminal potentially.

Of the frequency of general paralysis in criminology the authors have this to say: "From April 1927 to October 1938, of 905 subjects detained in the Montreal area, 185 or 20% were found suffering from general paralysis. A high percentage. Abnormal. From what does it stem? Among the possible hypotheses we asked: (1) whether after 26 years we were paying for our participation in the World War? (2) if our immigration did not bring us—relative to syphilis—a poor stock? (3) whether more frequent medical examinations would not permit us to withdraw from our prisons sick men authentically and legally irresponsible? We found that of the 185 subjects only seven were war veterans; 45 or a quarter, were foreigners (Syphilitic at the time of their entry into Canada). The average age was 43. In most cases there had been no previous treatment for syphilis. In sum, the abnormal frequency of the condition was not due to the war."

During the first 69 months of study, the authors state, 73 of the 185 subjects were admitted or confined while during the latter 69 months 112 were admitted, a considerable increase.

"There is nothing more edifying," they continue, "than to read the list of crimes which the paretic is liable to commit. All of the criminal code and part of the civil code is included. Of the 185 subjects studied, 143 or 77% came from recorder's courts;

35 from the police courts; four from children's courts and two from the King's Bench. From all the evidence, the paretic is not, on the scale of criminality, very dangerous.

"Recorder's court cases: 72 of the 143 were vagabonds, 9 were loiterers, 9 beggars 10 were guilty of disorderly conduct; two had committed damage to property; six were non-support cases, 9 had been drunk; eight were guilty of simple assault; 14 had refused to pay taxi drivers. They were guilty of minor delinquencies, most of them not specific."

"Police court cases: 20 were for robbery, 3 for attempted suicide, 2 for carrying weapons, 2 for arson, one was a vagabond, 2 for attempted robbery, 1 for false pretenses, etc. Robbery was the most frequent charge. All the cases were odd, demonstrating mental quirks.

"Children's court cases: one subject suffered a persecution complex, had caused a girl of 17 to steal; one was committed for eroticism and indecent exposure before children; the third was for alcoholism and indecent exposure and the fourth was an alcoholic with delusions.

"King's Bench cases: the first, an alcoholic and a former pugilist had attacked the despoiler of his sister with a knife; the second, also an alcoholic, had been accused of murder after shooting a cafe proprietor who had evicted him."

After giving an interesting resume of case histories to support their summary the authors conclude: "Crimes very rarely are committed in the medico-legal period Alcoholism is more dangerous among paretics than among normals. The more grave the crime, the more frequent the alcoholic addiction (some recorder's court cases; more police court committals; still more in Children's Court and totality in King's Bench cases). We have proved also that 23% of the subjects observed were recidivists. Which is a large percentage, but perhaps not extraordinary in view of the types of crimes committed."

The paper recommends a general campaign of mental hygiene to show the evolution and dangers of the disease.

"Knowing more about it," the authors observe, "doctors and patients will be the more anxious to prevent it. Our judges are becoming more and more conscious of the disease and are sending psychotic suspects for examination."

"Since a proportion of paretic criminals appear to be foreigners, a more stringent entering medical examination is suggested."

"This article," they say in conclusion, "will have attained its objective if it succeeds in informing physicians of the existence and criminal manifestations of a disease which is too frequent and the public of the opportunity to take steps necessary to protect itself against a destructive flood."

LEIGH HAWLEY, Monticello, N. Y.

ELECTROENCEPHALOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEM CHILDREN. HERBERT H. JASPER. PHILIP SOLOMON AND CHARLES BRADLEY. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*. 95:641-658 Nov. 1938.

Seventy-one children between the ages of two and sixteen with the primary diagnosis of behavior problem were studied. The average I.Q. of the group was above seventy so that mental deficiency as a factor in delinquency was ruled out. The entire group was divided into three classes on the basis of the main symptoms of behavior difficulty.

Class 1 (42%) included children who were emotionally unstable, hyperactive and showed behavior unrelated to environmental situations. The "epileptic" personality was quite prevalent in this group.

Class 2 (15%) had schizoid tendencies and showed withdrawn, eccentric and emotionally immature symptomatology.

Class 3 (43%) was a miscellaneous group which did not fall into any definite category and included school problems, delinquency and maladjustment to home situations.

The usual E.E.G. technique was employed, four had regions were recorded simultaneously on photographic paper. Movement artifacts were carefully ruled out by a separate observer. The records obtained were read for the percentage of the 10/sec. *a* waves from different head regions and for the presence of other types of waves which previous study had shown to be of pathological significance, insofar as they were not found in a group of normal controlled subjects. One hundred second samples were taken wherever abnormality was shown.

These results were compared with those of non-behavior problem children of comparable age studied by Lindsley in 1936. Abnormalities in brain potentials were found in 71%, of which 59% were markedly abnormal. Epileptiform activity was observed in 39% of the cases. These findings checked with the clinical observations of behavior typical of that form of personality. In only two cases was epilepsy suspected in the previous E.E.G. findings. None was having convulsions at the time of the examination. The recorded waves showed in half of the epileptoid group the typical spike and slow wave form and in the remaining waves of sudden bursts of large amplitude or the occurrence of large stray waves singly or in groups of three or four give a very disorganized and poorly regulated appearance to the record. Despite these differences in wave form the authors conclude that the cases should be tentatively referred to the epileptoid group. The remaining abnormal class not classified as epileptoid showed varying types of waves, often difficult to diagnose. A rather prominent characteristic of the E. E. G. from some cases was the occurrence of a regular rhythm of smooth waves at 5-6/sec. from the central and frontal regions of the head. It was not found in the occipital region. This sub-*a* rhythm, the authors thought, might persist through visual stimulation which blocks occipital *a* rhythm. The schizoid group showed as a predominate characteristic a continuous disorganized appearance with an admixture of slow and fast waves and a lack of correspondence between the simultaneous activity from bilaterally homologous region or a similar lack of the normal degree of integration between ipsilateral regions. Two of the schizoid cases, however, showed waves approximating in general the epileptoid type. The third group showed poor emotional control, delinquency, irritability and hyperactive behavior revealed no abnormal rhythm which could be considered typical for the group. As a matter of fact, a number of these behavior children exhibited apparently normal rhythms. On the whole, however, this group was more nearly allied to the epileptoid than to the schizoid group. The general conclusion arrived at by the authors was that the definite abnormality of brain function was revealed in half the cases and in many instances it was possible to relate the brain potentials to the general characteristics of the individual personality. The epileptoid group was the outstanding example of this and in view of the large number of epileptoids found among behavior problem children, the electroencephalogram becomes an important diagnostic adjunct for treatment in this field.

V. C. B.

## Book Reviews

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### Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes by *Advisory Committee on Social Questions*. League of Nations, Geneva, 1939.

#### *(Acknowledgement).*

A review of this most important study and report was made possible to our Journal through the courtesy of the Columbia University Press, International Documents Service, 2960 Broadway, New York City, and our hearty thanks are extended to them for this kind favor.

This report was made available through the assemblage of information secured from two questionnaires sent out to Governments and Voluntary Organizations by the League of Nations Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. It was their principal aim to discover the social services which existed for the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes, how they were organized and financed, the methods which were used, the difficulties involved, and the results achieved.

Rehabilitation in this report is construed to mean the process of helping prostitutes to abandon prostitution and to again engage in the normal working life of the community. Until recently, the rehabilitation of prostitutes and the problems encountered in the process had received very meager attention. It was for a long time that the rehabilitation of the Roman Catholic church stood almost alone. There has constantly been more interest and attention centered toward the protection of girls and young women than toward the reform of the professional prostitutes. There are few organizations for adult prostitutes because of certain reasons. First, we have the individualist doctrine in which exists the belief that sane adults are proper guardians of their own acts and happiness and should be permitted to live the kind of life they wish providing they do not interfere with others. Secondly, there is the fact that most professional prostitutes do not care to change their lives, or are not prepared to make any effort to do so. It has been shown from experience that the assistance which has been offered is often refused and that those women who did accept shelter and aid in a home for a few weeks or months often returned to their old life when they leave. A third reason for the minimum of attention to this problem is the recent development in social service which has shown a definite trend towards preventive rather than curative measures and actions. A fourth factor in the situation is the fact that low wages overcrowding, and poverty are contributory causes of prostitution, and it was felt that raising the standard of living and increasing security would be more effective approaches to the problem rather than any special measures of assistance. However, while these factors are operating in the situation, yet it must be constantly kept in mind that if the effect of these factors are lessened there would probably be many more prostitutes who might wish help. Also, it must be recognized that a certain number do everywhere apply for assistance even of their own accord.

Investigations have shown that the causes of prostitution among women are not due so much to external conditions but mostly to character and temperament. Also that a large proportion of professional prostitutes are mentally abnormal or deficient. Thus, rehabilitation is no longer a small problem affecting only a fraction of the population but



rather a broad problem which affects society in general. The answers to the questionnaires show that the social services for rehabilitation vary from country to country because of the differences in the problems encountered by the social workers. For example, prostitution is primarily an urban problem, since in agricultural districts with no large towns it has been found that the number of prostitutes is too small to justify the creation of special services. In many territories in the East prostitution is the result of social habits rather than personal failings and for whole groups of women there can be no other outcome of circumstances.

When it comes to the matter of the classification of cases there seems to be a growing opinion that those prostitutes who apply for help, should be classified by a psychiatrist and placed under his observation and supervision. Also there is no doubt that this practice would probably be of much value in preventing prostitution. In the treatment problem, the whole work of re-education is predicated on the principle of treating each woman as a separate individual. "Each case must become an entity. It must be dealt with through its own personality--Each case comes to see that she is a human individual recognized and cared for as such. She helps to become conscious of her personal dignity and her possibilities." There must also be provision for an adequate standard of living, family atmosphere, formation of will power, education, religion, etc. For example, in the educational process, mechanical habits will not suffice but an effort must be made to lead these young women to reflect and think for themselves. The illiterates are taught to read and write. Others, with more ability are asked to make a mental effort and write short accounts of lectures they have heard. The idea or theme is used that some day you will be a wife and a mother and thus a constructive outlook is given as encouragement for the future.

France has conducted a unique experiment that has achieved some success. There is unanimous opinion that from the physical point of view the results are admirable. The strength and health of all of the women improve with open air, good food, and rest. It is stated by the directress that probably about half of the women do not return to prostitution. Some make happy marriages while others go back to their homes or find work. She gives as the two main obstacles to rehabilitation the women's own mentality and physical condition, as well as the strong hold which their former associates still have on them. With reference to the first of these, she found most of the women unstable but good hearted. They are nervous, excitable, and moody, which makes them difficult to live with, but they usually improve in this respect the longer they stay in the home. They respond quickly to interest and affection and are easily influenced. Their temperament makes it difficult for them to persist in poorly-paid uninteresting work.

The Jewish association refers to difficulties encountered in one of its rescue homes as a result of the close contact "between former professional prostitutes, girls in moral danger and unmarried mothers who have never been on the streets." In the relation between age and possibility of rehabilitation, it was the consensus of opinion, from whatever country they come, that it is with the young women that training and re-education are most likely to succeed. They also agree that the less time a woman has engaged in prostitution, the easier it is for her to change her way of life. When the question is raised as to what types of work prostitutes should be trained for, most of the answers indicated domestic work as the most suitable, the only type of employment which they are likely to find. A distinct advantage in this kind of work is that in nearly all countries, there is a shortage of domestic workers and this work offers the best opportunities for placing persons who have had no special training. Also, household work offers board and lodging and is one of the occupations for women which definitely enables them to be self-supporting. Apart from domestic work, manual work in general is recommended by a number of countries. This viewpoint is sub-



stantiated for prostitutes because usually such work is physically and mentally exhausting - a needed condition for best results. For this reason, needlework for women in institutions is considered unsuitable. There is a unanimous opinion that women should not, if avoidable, be placed in occupations which involve the danger of promiscuity, such as work in lunch rooms, bars, dance halls, *etc.* It is emphasized that all occupations conducive to promiscuity should be strictly avoided. It seems that the return of a woman to her own family, as a second best solution is usually either undesirable or impossible. Quite often these ex-prostitutes are not wanted back in their own families or conditions in the homes are such that it would be very unwise for them to go back into the situation, *viz.*, social, economic, and personal or psychological.

There are four general conclusions in the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes. First, the difficulties involved have not been exaggerated, as only a small minority of prostitutes wish to be helped, their re-education is often slow, costly and complicated, and many go back into their old life. Secondly, no one method of rehabilitation can be given as the best in all circumstances, as prostitution and the prostitutes are affected by climate, social structure, religion, custom, national temperament, *etc.* Thirdly, special services of rehabilitation can most successfully be built on a foundation of wider social measures. It is important that action be taken against those who live on the proceeds of prostitution, since women are many times prevented from abandoning prostitution, or induced to return to it by threats or blackmail by souteneurs. It has been shown that the exploiting of prostitutes has greatly decreased in countries where it has been severely punished. Fourthly, the problems of rehabilitation will remain serious and great as long as the demand for prostitutes enables women to earn far more in prostitution than in other work.

The following eleven principles are given in summary:

1. Prostitutes can be rehabilitated best when they have not been in the profession long and before they have lost the habit of work.
2. The personality and training of the social worker who directs help determine the success of attempt at rehabilitation.
3. Social assistance should be combined with medical treatment for venereal disease.
4. Elasticity in treatment of prostitutes is necessary because there is such variance from country to country and even within each country.
5. Prostitutes should be examined by a mental specialist and special individual treatment prescribed since mental or psychical abnormalities are often present.
6. When a new start is made by women, it should be in fresh surroundings.
7. Homes of rehabilitation which train prostitutes to return to a working life should be as normal as possible to life.
8. Rehabilitation homes should provide the prostitutes with new values and a new outlook on life.
9. Vocational opportunity should be provided in the homes so that there is interest in some kind of work and regular working hours.
10. Work must be found for the women to be helped, and placement must be used.
11. Social workers should have a careful follow up and keep in touch with the women who need help and guidance in re-establishing themselves.

It is the belief of the committee that if these principles are followed, the attempts at rehabilitation have a good prospect of success, especially with young prostitutes. These principles have two disadvantages to combat: first, the reluctance of prostitutes to submit to treatment, and secondly, the fact that rehabilitation can only reduce the supply of prostitutes and not the demand for them.

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**Crime and Punishment in the Old French Romances** by *F. Carl Riedel*. New York - Columbia University Press \$3.00.

*Crime and Punishment in the Old French Romances*, by F. Carl Riedel, is a compact and scholarly work. It is a fine example of pure research, reflecting the delight of a scholar who relishes his labors. The psychiatrist and the criminologist are each bound to find this work to their liking but they must not come to it expecting to find an analytical or critical study of crime and punishment. The quest of the author was primarily to establish what correspondence there exists between crime and punishment as these were defined and witnessed in the 12th and 13th Centuries, and as they were recited in the contemporaneous French Romances. On that score his findings are, that the authors of the Romances wrote with legalistic knowledge and fidelity. However, that is the least significant of the author's contributions. More precious are his summary chapter on Criminal Law in the 13th Century, and those at the end of the book wherein the literary significance of the Romances, and the psychological basis and motivations of the crimes and the criminals are dealt with.

Particularly interesting is the author's delineation of the development of the concept of "treason," which in its nascence meant "the act of secret attack and injury," the quality of treason residing in its secrecy, rather than in the act. No less interesting is his historical treatment of the unresolved problem of fitting the punishment to the crime.

The plots of the Romances, which, composed for, "read and recited to courtly audiences" must prove to the modern reader, not interested in comparative literature, an arid and juvenile lot. On the other hand, to the competent scholar, as to Riedel, these Romances, and the rest of the literature of the 13th Century, prove a vast and rich field for research in the habits, thoughts, and feelings of our Early Renaissance progenitors.

IAGO GALDSTON

**Population, Race and Eugenics** by *Morris Siegel*, M.D. Published by the Author - 546 Barton St., East Hamilton, Ontario. 1939. 206pp.

What constitutes the science and movement of modern eugenics is implied in Sir Francis Galton's definition:- "Eugenics is the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally. The phrase improve or impair suggests to the author a two fold policy, a negative and a positive one."

The negative eugenic programme aims to study all the factors that lead to the birth of individuals with mild or serious physical or mental handicaps, and devise methods that will ultimately lead to a considerable reduction in the incidence and frequency of congenital degeneration and hereditary mental disorders. The positive and greater part of the programme is to search for the factors that lead to a negative correlation between fertility and cultural and intellectual attainment, and to devise methods whereby the correlation may be reversed.

The body of the book is accordingly subdivided into two parts, Book One, consists of five chapters and covers Positive Eugenics, one chapter each being devoted to, 1. Population and Eugenics. 2. Etiology. 3. Constructive Recommendation. 4. Racial theories in relation to Eugenics, and 5. Rational Marriage. Book Two, also in five chapters covers restrictive Eugenics, one chapter each being devoted to 1. The Feeble-Minded. 2. Mental Disorders. 3. Epilepsy. 4. Restrictive Measures, and 5. General Conclusions.

Positive Eugenics; Recent statistical studies point to serious defects in the trend of reproduction. Those groups, gifted by nature or in a position to create suitable environment for their offspring have as a rule very small or no families, while those less gifted or otherwise unable to create suitable environment for the young have large families. We find that about 50% of all women-university graduates, women teachers, librarians and nurses, never marry.

The main underlying causes responsible for such differential marriage and birth rate are: 1. Difficulty to obtain suitable housing. 2. Knowledge of birth control. 3. Late marriages. 4. Economic conditions and, 5. Attitude toward marriage.

To revise the present trend the author advocates many radical changes in our social life. In addition, among other, the author proposes an educational scheme for guarding the intelligence of the people! It is suggested the school medical office be taken advantage of and make a productive research department in the interest of eugenics. Children with superior abilities should be educated and maintained at public expense until their abilities have been fully developed. It is estimated about 0.5% of all children in the United States and Canada give an I.Q. index of 140, and were they given the opportunity, it is reasonable to expect, they may grow up to become real leaders of men. Such children appear among all groups of society, although less frequently in some groups than in others.

The chapter on Racial Theories in relation to Eugenics is timely. Anthropologically it has been established that all men are members of the species *Homo-Sapiens*. The division of men into distinct lines, called races, came about through migration of early men into different regions of the earth and settling in the most habitable part. Thus were formed the three large races of men Yellow, Brown and Black.

The factors that were chiefly operating in the differentiation of men into races were, 1. climatic, 2. exposure to disease, 3. means of sustenance, 4. inbreeding, 5. encounters with animals, 6. warfare with nearby tribes, and 7. cultural development. As time went on, further differentiation was recognized with the respective races, and these are called sub-races. The chief sub-races of the white man are, 1. The Mediterranean Race, 2. The Alpine Race, 3. The Nordic Race, 4. The Australian Race, 5. The Hamitic, and 6. The Semitic. The chief sub-races of the Yellow-Brown race are, 1. The Mongolian Race, 2. The American Indian, and 3. the Malay. The chief sub-races of the Black Race are, 1. The Negro Race, 2. The Negrito Race, and 3. The Bushmen.

At the present time, the sub-races of the White men have long ceased to exist as distinct groups. Prof. I. S. Huxley, in his latest published book, "We Americans," concludes in part, "In most cases it is impossible to speak of the existing population of any region as belonging to a definite race, since as a result of migration and crossing it includes many types and their various combinations. The Nordic race, like other human races, has no present existence. Racism is a myth, and a dangerous myth at that. It is a cloak for selfish economic aims which in their uncloaked nakedness would look ugly enough. And it is not scientifically grounded. The essence of science is to appeal to fact."

Restrictive Eugenics; The feeble-minded constitute one of the major groups of defective. While there exists a wide divergency of opinion in regard to feeble-mindedness, it is the belief of many statisticians throughout the world that the actual number constitute about 1% to 2% of the population. Careful research discloses, that about 20% owe their defects solely to heredity. In these cases sterilization is the obvious treatment. From 10 to 20% of the feeble-minded are due solely to environment; the chief environmental causes being, 1. Head injury in utero at birth or in early life, 2. Meningitis or Encephalitis in early life, 3. At times serious illness of Mother during pregnancy, and 4. Syphilis. From a eugenic standpoint sterilization is unnecessary. About 60% of the feeble-minded owe their defects both to heredity and environment

in varying degrees of intensity. Those in this group who are safe for community life, may or may not be sterilized, depending on the judgment and advice of experts. The environmental factors, leading to defects must be corrected whenever possible.

The incidence of mental disorder has not been fully ascertained. Most psychiatrists are of the opinion that mental disorders are on the increase. It has been established by H. M. Pollack and his co-workers that approximately 4.4% of all male population and 4.9% of all female population are expected to be committed to a mental institution for some period during their life time.

Most types of Psychoses are acquired, the most common forms being, 1. Traumatic, 2. Senile, 3. Result of Brain Tumors, 4. Involutional, 5. Alcoholic, 6. General paralysis of the insane and Cerebral syphilis. In, 1. Schizophrenia, 2. Manic depressive, 3. Paranoia, and 4. Epileptic psychosis, heredity plays a major role.

Where a faulty heredity does exist, environment also is a contributory factor. Sterilization will therefore not reduce the incidence of insanity to any great extent. It seems the strain and stress of life in a great city, the constancy of worry, the lust for luxury and fast living are factors which undermine health, mentally and physically. Life must be simplified, and promise of great success in this field appears to lie in the efforts of social hygiene agencies and mental hygiene clinics.

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